

THE
KAISER'S
SPEECHES

By WOLF VON
SCHIERBRAND



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THE
KAISER'S SPEECHES
FORMING A CHARACTER PORTRAIT OF
EMPEROR WILLIAM II.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED
WITH ANNOTATIONS BY
WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND
BASED UPON A COMPILATION
MADE BY
A. OSCAR KLAUSSMANN



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NOTE

A WORD as to the material used in the preparation of this book. Above all, let it be said that it is strictly authentic. Every care has been taken to eliminate from the contents statements which could not be traced to a trustworthy source. The larger number of the speeches and other utterances by the present German Emperor were taken in their German guise from the very recent compilation sanctioned by the Kaiser himself and published by A. Oscar Klaussmann, a well-known writer in Germany. They were rendered into English by me. The others that appear in this book were obtained from similarly trustworthy data—the original German versions being also used in every instance.

The comment and explanatory text are mine. These must be accepted by the reader for what they are worth. It may help to gauge their value accurately if mention is made that I spent many years in Berlin as chief correspondent for the Associated Press of America, returning recently to this country. It has been my earnest endeavor to make both explanations and comment accurate and unbiased.

It was found necessary to include material in this book not found in Klaussmann's compilation. Possibly these omissions in the latter are due to the fact that this category of imperial expressions no longer finds imperial approval. This additional material was,

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however, included, because without it no full view of the strangely many-sided character of William II. could be had. On the other hand, much of the matter in Klaussmann's compilation has been either abbreviated or left out. The sole reason for this was in every case that it was not of sufficient general interest, that it was elsewhere repeated (literally or in substance), or that it was merely introductory to the core of the subject itself.

The Italians have a saying, *Traduttore, traditore*—"The translator is a traitor." I venture to hope that the English garb I have given the Kaiser's German speeches will not corroborate this pithy and picturesque statement, for I have throughout striven hard to reproduce the essentials of the original—viz., the train of thought, the spirit of each utterance, and the peculiar phrasing of it. However, I am free to confess that the task of putting the Kaiser's German into adequate English has been more than ordinarily difficult, inasmuch as his German is very idiomatic—bristling with proverbs, sayings, and peculiar modes of speech (many of them self-coined), and showing that wonderful flexibility of German syntax, coupled, however, with as wonderful complexity of construction. In some cases the new English garment will not fit quite as neatly as might be wished. Yet this at least may be claimed for it: it is as true to the original as the limitations of language would permit.

THE AUTHOR.

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IF I were asked the question, What effect, on the whole, have the Kaiser's speeches had? my deliberate answer would be, On the whole, a good one. And in making such answer I am well aware that it runs counter to the preconceived opinion, both in this country and in England. But it is, I honestly believe, nevertheless, the true and fair one.

Let us investigate the subject, and, in investigating, rid our minds of all bias either way. In doing this, it is necessary to dwell on a few facts which are, perhaps, not always considered, or, if considered, not given due weight.

For one thing, then, it must be borne in mind that the Kaiser, in most cases, is talking to his people, the Germans. And with all their high mental culture, their many sterling qualities, the Germans are, in political education, at least a whole century behind either England or the United States. The frank and well-instructed minds of Germany, those who have travelled or resided abroad long enough to form an intelligent opinion, admit this, irrespective of party ties. Now, in speaking to such a people—a people in its overwhelming majority composed of monarchists by conviction and tradition, steeped in the faith that good can come to them, if at all, only through and by their rulers, it must be manifest to every unprejudiced person that modes of speech and methods of

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style must be adopted to produce a given effect different from those that would produce a similar effect on a nation politically more advanced.

That the Kaiser himself knows this full well is proven by the fact that when speaking to representatives of other nations — to Americans, Englishmen, even Frenchmen—he never makes use of the flamboyant, dictatorial, oracular mode of delivering himself which he, as a rule, employs in his public utterances to his own people. Witness, in striking proof of this, his speech, on July 10, 1891, at the Lord Mayor's banquet, in the Guildhall, London. It might be objected that representatives of these nations, above all, Americans and English, wouldn't "stand" such speeches. Very well, admit that—they wouldn't; and the Kaiser knows it, and does not talk to them, or of them, in that objectionable manner, which simply proves the contention. He usually gauges his audience quite keenly and accurately, and he tells them that which he thinks will be good for them. That he, with all that, is quite honest in his "ruler-by-divine-right" belief, admits scarcely of doubt, and does not alter the above fact. To the vast majority of the Germans of to-day neither the subject-matter of his innumerable speeches nor their peculiar flavor is at all distasteful. Many of them touched chords in the German soul which would not have vibrated otherwise; not only touched them, but stirred them so electrically as to produce action and lasting effect on the various phases of national life.

Turning now to the peculiar conditions in which the German Empire is placed, it will readily be seen that they account for much that seems strange to us in his talk. For the young empire is all the while contending against a sea of troubles, both within and without. As to the troubles within, they are, just to mention the chief ones, three: The absolute necessity of a

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firmer consolidation; the splitting up of political life into a score of factions, none of which is alone able to accomplish anything; and the socialist danger. And as regards the foreign situation, we see Germany surrounded, east and west and north, by powerful foes, forever on the watch, quick and willing to seize a really favorable opportunity for the dismemberment of the empire. We see her, besides, in the stress of a fierce and never-abating competition, political and commercial, with all the rest of the world. And yet the empire's soil is inferior in fertility and resources to that of her neighbors and most of her rivals.

Now let us see what purposes the Kaiser has chiefly had in view when speaking publicly. In the main, these purposes have been the following: To preserve the peace of the world, enabling Germany to develop internally and to reap calmly the fruits of her efforts in industry, commerce, science, invention; to strengthen the bonds of cohesion which hold the empire together; to foster and direct the expansion of Germany in political and commercial fields. No one reading his speeches in their totality can help the deduction that his main programme as a ruler is bounded by the limits defined above. But it will repay the trouble to go a little more into details here.

As to his efforts to preserve the peace of the world, his visits, at the outset of his reign and since, to Russia, England, Austria, Italy, and elsewhere, and his toasts and speeches, telegrams and letters, give abundant proof that he was sincere, untiring, and successful in these labors. In the light supplied by them there remains scarcely a doubt that it was principally owing to him that no war broke out between Russia and France on the one hand, and Germany, Austria, and Italy on the other, any time from 1888 to the death of Czar Alexander III., in the autumn of 1894. He

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made skilful use of the only effective means at hand to prevent this war—he convinced his adversaries that Germany wanted no war, and would do everything she honorably could to avoid it, and he convinced them equally of the fact that Germany would fight hard, and go into the fray prepared for a life-and-death struggle if forced into it. The latter conviction he contrived to convey by repeated and enormous enlargements of the German army during that period, and by knitting tighter the Triple Alliance. The evidence is as irresistible in regard to the other two tasks he had set himself. No close observer of German internal affairs will deny that the Kaiser has succeeded to an unprecedented degree in strengthening and multiplying the cohesive forces that bind the young empire together. He has wiped out the strife between the Catholic Church and the Protestant state in Germany, known under the name of *Culturkampf*, and which he took over as an inheritance from Bismarck. He has made loyal disaffected Alsace-Lorraine. He has made the relations between Emperor and the co-ordinated German sovereigns much more intimate and pleasant. He has vastly improved and doubled the size of the army. He has created the formidable German navy.

As to Germany's expansion, political and commercial, the Kaiser is practically responsible for it. That the world admits. And the same remark applies to Germany's internal advance in all material things—industry, trade, shipping, applied science, general prosperity. It is no mere coincidence that the last decade of the Kaiser's reign has seen Germany bound forward on the path of expansion at a marvellous rate. It is largely due to his unbending energies in that direction.

Thus, then, the Kaiser's hundreds of speeches

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sub-serving these chief purposes of his, have unquestionably produced vast good, not to his country and people alone, but to the world at large, inasmuch as they have served to render war impossible, and in that manner have contributed immensely to the welfare of mankind as a whole.

But there is an entire category of his speeches which has achieved not good, but evil. In it belong his many public utterances against political liberalism, for whose dwindling away in Germany he is mainly responsible; his amazingly violent diatribes and insults hurled against the socialists of Germany, comprising, it must be remembered, one-fourth or more of the entire population; those against the freedom of the press and against the new literature and art of Germany; and also those many wild and irrational sayings and orders to his officers, soldiers, and recruits. Of the latter, no doubt, some at least were momentary ebullitions, not to be taken seriously. One may arrive at that conclusion because they have been excluded, at the implied behest of the Kaiser himself, from recent compilations. But enough of them remain to make the calm observer stand aghast.

August Bebel, the socialist leader, recently delivered one of his characteristic speeches in the Reichstag. It was a scathing and almost brutally frank reply to the Kaiser's innumerable attacks on his party. He cited some of the most virulent anti-socialist remarks of the Kaiser, and stated that it was but human if the socialists, in retaliation, harbored a feeling of hatred for the head of the nation. Bebel is the most eloquent and impressive orator in the Reichstag, and the most conspicuous mouth-piece of his party, by far the most numerous at the polls, though (owing to the unreformed system of districting the constituencies) by no means in the national parliament.

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He is a man who has himself tasted in jail the bitterness of imperial anger, having been several times condemned by subservient and prejudiced courts for *lèse majesté* and treasonable talk. It is no wonder that the socialist party hates the Kaiser intensely, and Bebel's strictures—that the Kaiser constantly oversteps the limits of a constitutional ruler, and that, nevertheless, he has contrived to close up for his adversaries every avenue of stating publicly their case fairly and fully—were perfectly just. He was quite right when he said:

“A prince is born a prince. Is it his fault? By chance he has become a ruler, and if a prince is humane, is not personally vindictive towards us, we shall never personally oppose him. Monarchy is an institution, not a question of persons. It has grown on a historical foundation. And, therefore, we are the strongest opponents of the anarchists, who preach the assassination of rulers. . . .”

Bebel, I say, is quite right in what he claims. Anybody who has been on the inside of German affairs knows that, in sober truth, the socialists there—who must not be confounded in their teachings with socialists elsewhere—have been and are the most powerful check on the growth of anarchism, and have benefited the laboring classes in the empire as all other factors together have not. The Kaiser's dread of them is unreasoning in his speeches and actions.

And while the Kaiser's speeches have had a most unwholesome effect on German literature and art, they have been still more baneful as to press conditions in the empire. It is an undeniable fact that the Kaiser has throttled freedom of opinion and its expression there, and this to a degree without a parallel. The press in Germany is muzzled and powerless. The writer himself (if he may be pardoned for mentioning the fact) illustrates this, for he was expelled from Berlin

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for writing, as an American correspondent, the truth about the Emperor—expelled, broken in health, ruined financially. I suppose it would be but “human” in Bebel’s sense if I, when opportunity offered, should confound my private wrongs with the public ones wrought by the Kaiser’s illiberal policy towards the press. But that would not be fair to the reader nor to the Kaiser. It is, however, strictly within the truth to say that his practically absolute power has given the Kaiser a notion that he is infallible, and that to hold, or, above all, express, opinions at variance with his own is tantamount to high treason, tantamount to injuring the empire’s interests. That, again, is quite “human.” I do not doubt for a moment the sincerity of his convictions and notions. In fact, his most inveterate foes within the empire, the socialists, admit that much themselves. But that does not alter the fact that Bebel’s charge is true—the Kaiser goes in his speeches and in his whole public activity away beyond constitutional limits—limits which he solemnly pledged himself to adhere to on ascending the throne. However, the point at issue in this article scarcely concerns itself with that question, interesting as it is.

Striking a general balance, after carefully weighing the evidence on either side, I am constrained to say that I hold the influence of the Kaiser’s speeches, *on the whole*, to be a good one. Or perhaps it would convey my meaning more clearly to say that the good effects outweigh the evil ones.

The Kaiser fills, no doubt, an exceptional position in the world’s eye. He is a bundle of contradictions. His double lineage—Hohenzollern and Guelph—accounts for that. His complex nature is nowhere mirrored more dazzlingly and yet impartially than in his very speeches. The words from his own mouth convict and then again acquit him. As the most

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picturesque personage on the public stage, he must always remain interesting. As a forceful, masterful individuality he impresses himself on the general imagination. But a good deal of what is strange in his speeches is due not so much to him as to the anomalous circumstances surrounding him as a ruler.

WOLF VON SCHIERBRAND.

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INTRODUCTORY

FRAUGHT with grave importance for Germany and her imperial house, the year 1888 set in portentously. For over a twelvemonth the political horizon had been pregnant with sombre, threatening clouds.

Apparently Germany was on the eve of a war which she would have to wage simultaneously against two mighty foes—Russia and France. Czar Alexander III. was completely under the domination of the Panslavists, and the latter again under the influence of the French Nationalists and Boulangists, who were urging on war with Germany.

Forged documents had been played into the hands of the Czar, which necessarily convinced him that the old friendship existing between Russia and Germany since the Napoleonic era had been shamefully betrayed on the German side.

In the very nick of time, Bismarck succeeded in convincing Alexander III. of the spurious character of these fabricated documents, and in furnishing convincing proof of the forgery. But the suspicious mood of Alexander III. towards Germany was not thereby materially changed. Russia energetically prepared for war, and concentrated such enormous masses of troops along the German and Austrian frontiers that it was only due to the former very friendly relations with Russia, and to the correct relations obtaining since

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1878, that the German government refrained from putting Russia squarely before an ultimatum.

In February, 1888, mutual relations had become decidedly more strained. The *Deutsche Reichsanzeiger*¹ had published, on the last day of 1887, these spurious documents, and had spoken in very good temper about the "misunderstanding" on the part of Russia. The desired effect in Russia, however, was not apparent. The tone of the Russian and French papers became increasingly threatening. On February 3d, the entire political world was shaken by the publication of the German-Austrian Alliance stipulations. True, the wording of this treaty showed conclusively that its purposes were wholly defensive, and that neither Germany nor Austria intended to attack another country. But the intriguers in France and Russia made, nevertheless, use of this publication to begin renewed press assaults against Germany.

In the German Imperial Parliament—the Reichstag—they were debating upon the increase of the actual strength of the German army to seven hundred thousand men, and upon the loan made necessary by such a huge enlargement of the army. On February 6th, Bismarck made a speech in the Reichstag. In it he admitted that the pleasant relations with Russia had of late greatly suffered. But he still continued to give Russia an opportunity of retrieving, and he aimed at presenting things in such a light as if there was but a momentary misunderstanding, and as if these concentrations of Russian troops on the eastern frontiers of Germany were meant for something else than war against Germany.

For all that, Bismarck on this occasion made the formal declaration, in behalf of the entire German

¹ The *Deutsche Reichsanzeiger* | imperial and of the Prussian
is the chief official organ of the | governments.—ED.

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people, that the latter would not scruple to make war against two enemies in defence of Germany's sacred rights. He emphasized, however, that Germany was not planning a war of aggression, but would prefer to have her foes attack her first, because then "the whole of Germany, from the Memel to the Lake of Constance, would flare up like a powder magazine, the whole country thick with bayonets. No enemy will dare face the *furor teutonicus* which would develop in case of aggression," the Iron Chancellor said.

The concluding words of this unforgotten speech reverberated like thunderclaps throughout the German Empire: "We can easily be won by affection and good-will, perhaps too easily, but never by threats. We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world."

The weight of these words was increased by the fact that the Reichstag referred the army increase and loan bills, without debate, to the budget committee, and later on adopted, on a second reading, the army bill *en bloc*.

The pacific tone of Bismarck's speech created an excellent impression throughout the world; but the energy and confidence which likewise pervaded it induced the ranters in France and Russia to curb their passions somewhat.

Prince William, who scarcely imagined at that time that he was so soon to become emperor and the leader of Germany's hosts, felt it, nevertheless, his duty to controvert, two days after Bismarck's speech, rumors which had taken him for their object. Prince William was at this juncture generally believed to be not only an enthusiastic soldier, but also to be a hotspur. It was supposed that he was ready to risk all the German Empire had won during the preceding decades for a "merry war" of his own. On February 8th, therefore, Prince William made reply to some remarks by Oberpräsident von Achenbach, at the banquet of the

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Provincial Diet of the province of Brandenburg, in a speech whose concluding sentences were as follows:

“ . . . In my rides through the Mark Brandenburg, on the occasion of the manœuvres, seeing the waving fields and the manifold evidences of industrial progress, I have convinced myself quite sufficiently wherein lies the true foundation of a people's well-being and of fruitful toil. I know well that the great public, and more especially in foreign countries, imputes to me war thoughts, believes me eager for glory and for the fray. God preserve me from such criminal leanings! I indignantly deny all such accusations! But, gentlemen, I am a soldier, and all Brandenburgers are soldiers, I know. . . . ”

Four weeks later Emperor William I. died. The moribund Crown-prince, Frederick William, ascended the throne. But on June 15th, the imperial standard on Castle Friedrichskron, near Potsdam, was lowered once more. Kaiser Friedrich III. was dead; the patient sufferer had breathed his last.

When Kaiser Wilhelm II. had ascended the throne of the Prussian kings, and had thereby become the chief of the German Empire, he issued the following three addresses, which probably more or less accurately reflect the spirit in which he took over the serious duties that devolved on him:

“ TO MY PEOPLE

“ God's decree has again visited us with bitterest sorrow. Hardly had the grave closed over the mortal remains of my unforgettable grandfather, than my dearly beloved father's majesty has been summoned from this earth to eternal peace. The heroic energy growing out of Christian fortitude, with which he knew

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how to fulfil his royal duties despite his sufferings, seemed to give room for the hope that he would be preserved to the fatherland for a longer time. God willed otherwise. Only a few months were given to the royal sufferer, whose heart beat for everything great and beautiful, wherein to manifest upon the throne all those noble qualities of head and heart which endeared him to the people. The virtues which glorified him, the victories which he once won on the battle-field, will be gratefully remembered as long as German hearts beat, and imperishable renown will keep alive his knightly figure in the history of the fatherland.

"Summoned to the throne of my fathers, I have taken up the reins of government in looking for aid to the King of all kings, and I have sworn to God to follow the example of my fathers and to be to my people a just and mild ruler, to nurture piety and the fear of God, to cherish peace, to promote the country's welfare, to be a helper to the poor and oppressed, and a faithful guardian to justice.

"In praying God to give me strength to fulfil these royal duties, imposed upon me by His will, I find support in the consciousness that my confidence in the Prussian people, as its history reflects, will be justified. In good and evil days Prussia's people has stood faithfully by its king. Upon this loyalty, whose ties proved indissoluble in the case of my forefathers in every great trouble and danger, I count also, knowing that the sentiment is reciprocated by me, the faithful ruler of a faithful people, both strong in devotion to the common fatherland. From this consciousness of the mutual affection binding me to my people, I gather the confidence that God will lend me strength and wisdom to fill my royal office to the welfare of the fatherland.

WILHELM.

"POTSDAM, June 18, 1888."

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"TO THE ARMY

"Scarcely has the army discarded the external signs of mourning for Emperor and King William I., my highly cherished grandfather, who will continue to live in your hearts forever, than another heavy blow falls by the death of my dear, my cherished father, the Emperor and King Frederick III., majesty.

"Truly, these are days of mourning in which God's hand places me at the head of the army, and it is, indeed, from a troubled, deeply stirred heart that I address my first words to my army.

"The confidence, however, with which I take my stand where God's will places me is unalterably steadfast, for I know what sentiments of honor and duty my glorious ancestors have implanted in the army, and I know in what great measure this sentiment has at all times proved trustworthy.

"In the army the strong, unquestioning allegiance to the commander-in-chief (*Kriegsherrn*)¹ is the heirloom descending from father to son, from generation to generation, and in this wise I point you to my grandfather, forever before your eyes, the picture of a glorious and venerable battle leader, such as no finer and more heart-stirring may be conceived; to my dear father, who, as crown-prince, won a high place of honor in the annals of the army; and to a long line of renowned ancestors, whose names shine bright in history and whose hearts glowed warm for the army.

"Thus we belong together, I and the army; thus we are born for each other, and thus we will act together, no matter whether God wills peace or storm.

"You will now swear to me the oath of allegiance

¹The word *Kriegsherr* is a German military title signifying, ly been erroneously stated, but means simply commander-in-chief.—Ed.

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and obedience, and I solemnly promise always to remember that the eyes of my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that I shall have to render account some day of the glory and the honor of the army. WILHELM.

“CASTLE FRIEDRICHSKRON, *June 15, 1888.*”

“TO THE NAVY

“With sorrow-laden heart I inform the navy that my beloved father, his Majesty the German Emperor and King of Prussia, Frederick III., died peacefully in the Lord this forenoon at 11.05 o'clock, and that I, taking the place appointed for me by God's will, have assumed the government of the lands devolving upon me, and hence, also, the chief command of the navy.

“It is in very truth a time heavy with grief when I for the first time address the navy.

“It is but recently that you discontinued wearing the sombre signs of mourning for my dear, never-to-be-forgotten grandfather, the Emperor William I., who but last year, during his visit to Kiel, expressed his lively satisfaction and admiration at the development of the navy during his glorious reign, and to-day the flags sink again for my well-beloved father, who felt so much joy and took so keen an interest in the growth and progress of the navy.

“The time of stern and true faithfulness strengthens and steadies, however, the hearts of men, and thus we will look confidently into the future, bearing the pictures of my grandfather and of my father mirrored in our hearts. The navy knows that it has not only filled me with great joy to belong to it by an external tie, but that since my earliest youth, in entire consonance with my dear brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, a deep and lively interest draws me there.

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"I have learned to know the high sense of honor and of duty nobly done which lives in the navy. I know that every one is ready to sacrifice his life, no matter where, for the honor of the German flag.

"And thus it is that in this sad hour I may say, with full confidence, that we shall stand together, fast and true, in good and in evil days, in sunshine and in storm, always remembering the glory of the German fatherland and always ready to spill our heart's blood for the honor of the German flag.

"In such an endeavor God's blessing will be with us.

WILHELM.

"CASTLE FRIEDRICHSKRON, *June 15, 1888.*"

The young Kaiser's throne speech at the convening of the Reichstag, June 25, 1888, was also very significant. In it occur the following passages:

". . . I have called you together, honored sirs, to tell the German nation that I am resolved to walk the same paths as king and as emperor on which my dear grandfather of blessed memory won for himself the confidence of his federated allies, the affection of the German people, and the good-will of foreign nations. Whether I shall similarly succeed rests with God, but I shall strive to attain all this by hard work."

About the imperial constitution he said:

". . . The foremost one of these laws is the imperial constitution. To protect and guarantee it in all those rights which it confers upon the two legislative bodies of the nation and upon every German, but also those which it confers upon the Kaiser and upon each allied state and its ruler, belongs to the chief prerogatives and duties of the Kaiser.

". . . In like manner I deem it requisite to main-

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tain our state and social development in the paths of legality, and firmly to oppose all endeavors whose purpose and effect would be to undermine the order and fabric of the state.

“As regards our foreign policy, I am resolved to keep peace with every one, so far as in me lies. My affection for the German army and my attitude towards it will never lead me into the temptation to shorten the blessings of peace for our country, so long as war should not be forced upon us by an attack upon the empire or its allies. Our army is to secure us peace, and, if peace should be broken despite all, our army will, I trust, be strong enough to compel the re-establishment of peace. With God’s help it will be able to do so, now that its effective status has been increased by the recently passed army law, adopted by you in such a spirit of unanimity. To employ, however, this strength in wars of aggression is far from my desires. Germany is not in need of either new warlike laurels nor of new conquests, now that she has fought for and obtained the right to exist as a united and independent nation. . . .

“For the conscientious cultivation of peace I shall gladly devote my services to the fatherland, as likewise to the incessant care for our army, and I rejoice in the traditional relations to foreign powers by which my efforts in the aforementioned line will be promoted.

“Trusting in God and in the preparedness of our people, I have confidence that for a long time to come we shall be able to consolidate and to preserve by the arts of peace that which, under the leadership of my two predecessors on the throne, now resting in God, has been secured in war.”

Two days later, on June 27, 1888, the young monarch delivered another speech from the throne at the

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opening of the Prussian Diet. The same spirit pervaded it.

After paying a glowing tribute to his grandfather and father, and exàcting from the delegates of both houses of the Diet the oath of allegiance, the Kaiser said:

"I solemnly pledge myself to maintain in its integrity the constitution of the kingdom, and to reign in consonance with it and the laws, so help me God!

"Honored Sirs! Emperor William has created during his glorious reign, full of great deeds in war and peace, the Prussia of to-day, and has realized the strivings of our people for national unity.

"My father, now resting in God, with the same loyalty which inspires me towards him, adopted after his accession in his public manifestations, representing his political testament, the policy and the achievements of my grandfather of blessed memory. I also am resolved to tread the same paths after them, both as regards Prussia and the empire. As did King William I., so will I, abiding by my solemn pledge, honor and protect the laws and the prerogatives of the representatives of the nation, and I will preserve and exert with the same scrupulous regard the constitutional rights of the crown, so that I may, at some future time, hand them over undiminished to my successor on the throne. Nothing is further from my mind than to risk the confidence of the people in the continuity of our lawful conditions by efforts to enlarge the rights of the crown. That measure of rights and prerogatives lawfully accruing to me, so long as it is not questioned, suffices to insure for the life of the state that degree of monarchic influence which Prussia, from her historic development, her composition to-day, her position in the empire, and the sentiments and customs of her people, actually requires. I am of opinion that our

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constitution contains a just and reasonable apportionment of the different factors of power in the life of the state, and it is because of this, and not only because of my pledge, that I mean to protect and maintain it. Following the example of my august ancestors, I shall at all times deem it my duty to accord to every form of religious belief in my country my royal protection in the exercise of its tenets.

“With particular satisfaction I have noticed that the more recent religio-political legislation has brought it about that the relations between the state and the Catholic Church and its supreme head have been ordered in a mutually satisfying manner. I shall endeavor to preserve Church harmony in the land.

“Honored Sirs! I have assumed the duties of my royal office at a trying period, but I approach the task intrusted to me by God’s will with the confidence of a sense of duty, and in doing so the word of the Great Frederick is in my mind, that in Prussia “the king is the first servant of the state.”

During the short reign of Emperor Frederick, France and Russia had remained, so to speak, in a mood of truce. But now, after the accession of the youthful ruler, who, according to their notions, had no serious backing either in German party life or on the part of the ruling sovereigns of the empire, the time seemed to have come to resume once more the covered or the open attacks upon Germany. It was now incumbent upon Emperor William II. to demonstrate peradventure to the whole world his love of peace. Besides, it became necessary for him to undertake, wherever that was practicable, personal steps to remove misunderstandings and to further the preservation of peace.

THE KAISER FOR PEACE AND
RECONCILIATION



I

THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE

The Kaiser's visits to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, undertaken, after ascending the throne, for purposes of conciliation and friendship—Emphatic rejection of French hints to purchase permanent peace by restoring Alsace-Lorraine—Significant speeches during his visit to England—Relations with his Austrian and Italian allies—Toasting the Czar—The Kaiser and the cession of Heligoland—Receiving the Austrian and Italian monarchs in Berlin—The death of Alexander III.—Peace manifestations at the opening of the Baltic Canal.

THE impressive demonstration in favor of peace which the Emperor William II. inaugurated immediately after his accession, by means of a series of trips to foreign parts, was emphasized by the fact that his first visit was paid to the Czar of Russia. He did not first see the German sovereigns, nor the august chiefs of the Dreibund powers, but the Kaiser went, above all, to the most dangerous foe of Germany—to Czar Alexander III.—in order to give to that potentate his personal assurances that the young Kaiser loved peace above everything.

The manner of his carrying out this important task differed in several essential respects from similar previous visits made by German monarchs. The differences in external circumstances were great. The Kaiser undertook the journey by sea. On July 14th,

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less than a month after his father's death, he started from Kiel on board his yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, for St. Petersburg, accompanied by Prince Henry, his brother; Prince Herbert Bismarck, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs; General von Hahnke, then chief of his military cabinet, and a large and brilliant suite.

On the 19th the two monarchs met on the high sea, some distance from Kronstadt,¹ and exchanged civilities. Later in the day Kaiser William was also received, at Peterhof,² by the Empress of Russia. This was followed by a family dinner, and by a banquet given officially in the presence of the high dignitaries. The Kaiser's visit lasted until July 24th, and before the Kaiser's departure from Kronstadt there was another luncheon on board the *Hohenzollern*, at which Alexander III. and his consort participated.

Alexander III. was of a chivalrous nature. The manner in which William II. seized this early opportunity to plead for the maintenance of peace had impressed the Czar vividly and had created great sympathy for this young monarch. There seems no doubt that this initial step made by William II. for the sake of better relations between the two nations was of eminent importance, and that it was largely instrumental in dissipating, at least later on, the threatening clouds in the political heavens. The wording of the toasts proposed by both rulers on the occasion of this family dinner, on July 19th, has never been published. The Russian press by no means ceased in its hostile attacks on Germany, although moderating them somewhat. Russian papers attempted to treat the Kaiser's visit ironically, and some

¹ Kronstadt, the harbor of St. Petersburg, on the Baltic. | residences of Alexander III., in the environs of St. Petersburg.

² Peterhof, one of the favorite | —ED.

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of their interpretations were so offensive that the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*¹ replied by this declaration:

“True, the initiative to the Kaiser’s visit in St. Petersburg came, we repeat it, from Berlin, but to argue therefrom that the need of a *rapprochement* between the two countries was felt more strongly on the part of the German government than was the case in St. Petersburg is an outflow of Asiatic arrogance and Asiatic ignorance.”

The Kaiser at least felt that he had reason to be satisfied with the results of his visits in Krasnoye Sseloe² and Peterhof.

On his return trip from Kronstadt the Kaiser visited the King of Sweden and Norway in Stockholm, and won by his personal magnetism not alone the sympathies of Oscar II. but those of his capital as well. On July 26th, the Kaiser thus replied at the royal castle in Stockholm to the welcoming words of the Swedish ruler:

“The traditions binding the Swedish and the German people together, and my dynasty with the Swedish royal house, and more especially the traditions which united my grandfather and my father with your Majesty, will, I trust, live on. I see in the splendid reception accorded me in this beautiful land a strong proof of the sympathies uniting the Germanic with the Scandinavian nations.”³

Indeed, the Kaiser had won the admiration of the Swedish people. If war should, after all, break out,

¹ *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, a Berlin newspaper largely used by the German government for official and semi-official utterances.

² Krasnoye Sseloe, a rural estate belonging to the Czar.

³ There are bonds of relationship between the Berlin and the Stockholm courts.—ED.

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the friendship—even the mere neutrality—of Sweden was at that moment of great importance.

From Stockholm Kaiser William II. went straight into the lion's den. He visited Copenhagen. The Danish court had been, since 1864, the centre where all sorts of intrigues were spun against Germany, and whence they radiated. Copenhagen influences had induced the Czar (a son-in-law of the King of Denmark) to identify himself with the Panslavist movement, and finally to reason himself into a bitter state of feeling against Germany. The amiable and frank demeanor of William II. conciliated, too, the members of the Danish royal family. The reception accorded the Kaiser in Copenhagen was a very cordial one. At the dinner in Castle Amalienborg, on July 31st, the Kaiser answered the toast proposed by King Christian IX. in this way:

“I return respectful thanks to your Majesty for the kind toast, and I express the hope that I may be permitted in the future to pay another similarly friendly visit here.”

In France, it seems, this love of peace, as evinced by the young German Emperor, had been misunderstood. It was being interpreted there as a confession of weakness—aye, even of fear, and the French press hastened to inform the world that the new German ruler could easily purchase a lasting peace by voluntarily returning to France the two lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These French interpretations had to be effectually combated in order to prevent there, as well as elsewhere, misconstructions of the motives impelling William II. in his further attempts to preserve the peace in Europe.

In Frankfort-on-Oder, the 16th of August was kept

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as a memorial day of the battle of Mars-la-Tour, and a monument to Prince Frederick Charles ("the Red Prince"), which had been erected by the 3d Army Corps, was unveiled on that day. The Kaiser was present and made a memorial speech, towards the close of which he said:

"There are some who do not scruple to assert that if my father had lived he would have restored that which he and my uncle, of blessed memory, Prince Frederick Charles, had won by the sword. We all have known him too well to acquiesce supinely in an assertion which amounts to an affront offered his memory. He had the same conviction we have—namely, that not an iota of the achievements of that great period is to be relinquished. I believe that not only the 3d Army Corps, but the entire army, knows there can be but one voice on that score, and that we should prefer rather to leave our eighteen army corps and our forty-two millions of people on the battle-field than to cede a single stone of that which my father and Prince Frederick Charles have won for us."

To nurture the good relations with Sweden, the Kaiser seized upon the opportunity furnished by the birth of his fifth son to ask the King of Sweden to become godfather to the new-born prince. On August 31st, the baptismal rites were celebrated in Berlin, the King of Sweden being present, and both the German and the Swedish press expressed satisfaction at this new proof of the pleasant relations existing between the two countries.

After the Kaiser had paid a visit in Dresden to King Albert, whose very friendly feelings for him he wished to cultivate, he made a tour of visits to Stuttgart,

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Munich, Vienna, and Rome. More especially his visits to the Vienna court and to the Quirinal served their turn well to demonstrate to the world the Kaiser's love of peace, but they had another and very appreciable effect in enthusing the nations belonging to the Triple Alliance.

With great satisfaction, the Kaiser was able to declare, at the conclusion of these journeys, that according to his sincere conviction the continuance of peace had been secured for a long time to come. Notwithstanding this, however, the political situation did not entirely improve during 1889. Doubtless, though, the efforts of the German Emperor had at least induced his adversaries to assume a waiting attitude and not to hurry on the moment of actual hostilities by violent means. The Czar of Russia had been seriously disturbed by the publication of the terms of the German-Austrian agreement, and had somehow conceived the idea that the point of this treaty was turned against Russia. His designs upon the Balkan peninsula, where he wished to consolidate Russian supremacy, were gravely interfered with by this alliance. It could, of course, be foreseen that Austria-Hungary, because of the dangers inherent in the proximity of so powerful a neighbor, would not tolerate a further extension of Russian influence upon the Balkan lands. And now Austria-Hungary no longer stood alone. At the critical moment she knew that she could rely upon Germany.

The German Emperor continued his endeavors in behalf of peace, and in pursuance of that object he next undertook a trip to England. Britons at that time were prejudiced in his favor as being the grandson of their beloved Queen. But he did not visit her solely as a relative. That fact was made patent by the manner in which the journey was carried out. He

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was accompanied by a German squadron of naval vessels. The excellent relations between the two courts found expression in mutual courtesies. Kaiser William was made an honorary admiral of the British navy. He, on his part, created Queen Victoria honorary chief of the 1st Dragoons of the Guards, and the Duke of Cambridge he appointed chief of the 28th Regiment of the Line. The Kaiser stayed in England from the 1st until the 7th of August. All the honors which he showered upon his grandmother, the Queen, were looked upon by the English people as special attentions shown to the whole country. In England, too, it made a very good impression that the Kaiser had at once transmitted an order to Berlin to send a deputation of the 1st Dragoons of the Guards to England in order to wait upon their new royal chief. The presentation ceremony took place in Osborne, on August 5th, and the Kaiser said on this occasion :

“I beg to be permitted to express to your Majesty my deep-felt thanks at the fact that your Majesty has been gracious enough to accept the position as chief of the Royal Prussian 1st Dragoons of the Guards. My army feels proud to be able to count henceforth in its ranks the sovereign commander of the greatest naval power in the world. Above all, however, the hearts of the officers and men of your Majesty’s own regiment beat higher because of the fact that it now enjoys the honor of being called ‘Queen of England.’ I have chosen this particular regiment for the purpose partly for the reason that its record shows it to have excelled in discipline during times of peace and in heroic conduct during war. Notably was this the case during the last campaign, at Mars-la-Tour, where it earned deserved laurels. But again it is the only

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cavalry regiment in the Prussian army in which my late father received his education as a cavalryman.

"I do not doubt for a moment that the officers and men of the 1st Dragoons of the Guards, Queen of England, conscious of the high distinction conferred, will zealously strive always to remain worthy of it."

On the same day the Kaiser assisted at a regatta held in Sundown Bay, and to the toast proposed in his honor by the Prince of Wales he replied:

"The great honor which the Queen has conferred upon me by appointing me admiral of the English fleet I value very highly. It gave me great pleasure to witness this naval review and to be able to see and examine closely a navy which I hold the finest in the world. Germany possesses an army which appears adequate for her needs, and when the British nation owns a fleet commensurate to their requirements Europe in general will look upon this fact as a most potent factor in the preservation of peace."

On the day before his departure the Kaiser witnessed, at Aldershot, the manoeuvres of twenty-nine thousand British troops. At the luncheon in camp the Duke of Cambridge toasted the Kaiser, whereupon the latter said in reply:

"It was peculiarly gratifying to me to appoint the Duke of Cambridge, in his capacity of commander-in-chief of the English army, chief of my 28th Regiment of the Line, because it was this regiment which had, in past years, the Duke of Wellington, our good comrade at Waterloo, for its chief.

"My grandfather had maintained friendship with

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England and the English, a friendship baptized in blood, until the end of his days.

“ . . . The British troops have inspired me with the greatest admiration. If ever the possibility of volunteer service should be doubted, I shall be in a condition to testify as to their excellence.

“ At Malplaquet and Waterloo, Prussian and British blood has been spilled in a common cause. . . . ”

And not only at the British royal court had the Kaiser won sympathy for himself, but also among the British people, not easily swayed in their sentiments. His personal appearance and demeanor had gained him the good-will of the English.

Shortly after his return to his capital, the Kaiser received the visit of the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, who was accorded a jubilant reception by the population of Berlin. The Kaiser utilized the presence of his august ally to emphasize again the peaceable purposes of the Triple Alliance and the intimate relations subsisting between Germany and Austria. On August 13, 1889, at the banquet which was given immediately after the brilliant pageant of a gigantic military parade, held in honor of his guest, the Kaiser proposed a toast concluding as follows:

“ . . . My people and my army keep steadfast and true to the federated compact concluded between us, and the army is fully conscious of the fact that to preserve the peace and its blessings for our countries it must maintain it and would fight, shoulder to shoulder, with the brave Austro-Hungarian army, if that should be the will of Providence.”

The Czar of Russia returned the Kaiser's visit in the

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autumn, remaining in Berlin from October 11th to 13th. The Kaiser did everything in his power to render this brief sojourn as agreeable as possible to his guest, and to assure him of his peaceful intentions and of his earnest wish to preserve friendly relations with Russia. At the banquet given in the White Hall of the old castle in Berlin, the Kaiser, on October 11th, proposed a short but pregnant toast, saying:

“I drink to the health of my esteemed friend, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and to the continuance of that friendship which has existed between our houses for more than a century, and which I am resolved to cultivate as an heirloom descended to me from my ancestors.”

The Kaiser had spoken in German, of which the Czar possessed a perfect mastery, but the latter preferred to reply—to the amazement of everybody, and contrary to his former custom—in French, as follows: “I thank your Majesty for your kind words, and I entirely share the sentiments which you have just expressed. To the health of his Majesty the Emperor and King. Hurrah!”

Nevertheless, the Kaiser continued his friendly advances, and two days later, when a luncheon in honor of the Czar was given at the officers' mess of the Czar Alexander Grenadiers of the Guards, the Kaiser said, relative to the Russian army:

“On an occasion like the present one, which touches a regiment looking back upon a long and glorious history of its own, and which has also the honor to see here as its guest its imperial chief, memories of bygone days may well play a large rôle. We are carried back

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to the days when my grandfather, now resting in God, but then a young officer, received before the enemy, on the battle-field, the Order of St. George, and won in the rain of bullets the chieftaincy of the Kaluga Regiment.¹

"I remind you of these facts in order to drink to the glorious and joint reminiscences and traditions of the Russian and of the Prussian armies. I drink to those who in patriotic and heroic defence of their country fought at Borodino, who with us bled at the victorious battles of Arcis-sur-Aube and Brienne. I drink to the brave defenders of Sebastopol and the dauntless fighters of Plevna.

"I will ask you, gentlemen, to rise and empty your glasses to the health of our comrades of the Russian army."

On this occasion the Czar replied in German, briefly saying: "I drink to the health of my brave Grenadier Regiment. Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!"

On October 18th the Kaiser and his consort started on an extensive journey to the Orient. In the first place, this came about because of the wedding festivities at Athens attendant upon the marriage of the Kaiser's youngest sister, Sophia, with the Crown-prince Constantine of Greece. On October 31st the imperial couple left Athens for Constantinople, arriving there on November 2d. The Sultan accorded the German monarch a very brilliant and cordial reception, and it soon became evident by the tone of the intercourse between the two rulers that the young Kaiser had won the friendship of the Padishah, and thus had scored a moral conquest of some moment to Germany's welfare and growing influence in the Orient.

¹ At Brienne, 1814, against year-old William I. by Czar the French, both distinctions Alexander I., the ally of Prussia. being conferred upon seventeen.—ED.

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The year 1889 closed with brighter prospects than had the previous year, and the Kaiser said:

"I still believe that with God's help I have succeeded in prolonging peace for long years to come."

The Czar of Russia, in his turn, manifested peaceable intentions when he wrote, at the beginning of the year 1890, in the Russian official *Government Messenger*, in a letter to the governor-general of Moscow: "Entering upon a new year, I pray God He may continue uninterruptedly the development of the internal resources of our beloved country, in the midst of that peace which we all desire and which blesses us all."

Everywhere in Europe the conviction gained ground that William II., whom the world had regarded before his accession as bellicose and reckless, was a sincere friend of peace. This trend of public opinion was aided by the Kaiser himself, who seldom allowed an opportunity to escape him for emphasizing again and again his pacific intentions. Illustrative of this was the toast which the Kaiser proposed at the banquet taking place on August 10th of that year on the occasion of the formal cession by Great Britain to Germany of the small but important island of Heligoland, near the mouth of the Elbe River. The Kaiser then said:

"This beautiful island has come into my possession without strife, without the shedding of a single tear. The many despatches from the mother-country which have come into my hands to-day plainly evince the liveliest sympathies for this new acquisition. And I make a special point of referring to the manner in which Heligoland has been regained. I am proud of the fact that it has been done without a struggle. The

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last time I was here, in 1873, I said to myself that I would be happy if I should live to see the island German once more.

"And now we have acquired the island by right of treaty, out of the free will of the government and of the legislative branches of a consanguineous country. My heart rejoices, therefore, in raising my glass to that august lady whom we have to thank for the fact that the island has again become German. With far-sighted wisdom, with an eye that penetrates the future, the Queen rules her land, and she attaches value to living in friendship with me and with my people. She appreciates German military men, German melodies.

"May the Queen of England live long and prosper!"

On August 17, 1890, the Emperor William II. paid his second visit to the Czar of Russia. Again he made the journey by sea, and this time he arrived on Russian soil in Reval, thence proceeding to Narva. The presence of cabinet officers and ambassadors on this occasion, lasting until August 23d, proved its importance. But even in Germany there were press voices which declared this second visit of the Kaiser to Russia superfluous, and which asserted that the Kaiser did not find in Russia that amount of welcome which his amiable spirit seemed to deserve. There was published, on the German side, a semi-official protest against this statement. Subsequent events gave proof that this second visit, too, had promoted neighborly relations as well as a better personal understanding between the two monarchs.

On October 1, 1890, Kaiser William again visited his ally, the Emperor and King Francis Joseph. Although the sojourn in Vienna was brief, the reception which the populace of the Austrian capital accorded the Ger-

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man Kaiser was, judging by the unanimous verdict of the Vienna press, a triumphal one.

On July 1st of the same year the Kaiser paid a friendly visit to the Queen of the Netherlands. Even with the calm Hollanders, so difficult to inspire with enthusiasm, the Kaiser won for himself, solely owing to his personal demeanor, general sympathy in the shortest space of time. In his toast at the state banquet given him he said, among other things:

"I esteem it a high favor to be able to make a brief stay in the Netherlands, and especially in Amsterdam, since the House of Orange and mine are closely related, and since Germany owes vast gratitude to the original House of Orange and Nassau."

Then adding in the Dutch vernacular, amid great enthusiasm:

"Ik drink op de gezondheid van Hare Majestäten de Koningin en de Koningin-Regentes!"

From that time on the press of the Netherlands, as had the leading journals in other countries, began sedulously to discuss the person of Kaiser William, and to express in well-meaning words the opinion that his aims and policy were directed towards the maintenance of universal peace.

On October 27, 1891, King Charles of Roumania arrived in Berlin on a visit to the Kaiser, and the cordial words with which William II. welcomed his guest contained many pleasant references, and were calculated to knit more closely the amicable bonds uniting the two rulers and their countries.

However, in July, 1891, a political event of the first magnitude had come to pass, an event which on the

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part of France had been diligently striven for and which in Germany had been expected for years with more or less anxiety. The close *rapprochement* of France and Russia had become an established fact. On July 23d a French naval squadron had arrived in Kronstadt, and the honors and attentions showered by the Russians upon both officers and men incited in France the liveliest gratification. The Czar, in his toast on the 28th, dwelt with emphasis on the close and friendly ties subsisting between France and Russia. France had made great sacrifices, in the shape of a Russian loan, to bring about this friendship and its open acknowledgment, and under given circumstances it is likely that this new aspect of political affairs might have seriously shaken the hopes entertained throughout Europe by the advocates of peace. It was partly due to Kaiser William's efforts that the point, so to speak, of this French success was broken off in advance. And the French soon enough came to appreciate the fact that the Czar was by no means willing to have his troops march against Germany in order to help France regain Alsace-Lorraine.

The year 1892, May 30th till June 2d, saw the Queen-Regent and the Queen of the Netherlands on a visit to the imperial couple in Potsdam. At the dinner on May 31st the Kaiser in his toast again paid a highly flattering tribute to the Dutch people and their ruling dynasty of Orange, laying particular stress on the Orange blood in his own veins and on the high esteem in which he held the heroes of that line, and skilfully allaying, by the turn of his phrases, any lingering suspicions of ulterior motives on his own part, praising the people of the Netherlands for their unalterable loyalty to their ancient dynasty.

On June 7, 1892, the Czar of Russia, accompanied by the heir-presumptive, passed through Kiel, and was

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there received by the Kaiser. The first meeting was on board the Kaiser's yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, and at the dinner, which was served at the royal château in Kiel, the Kaiser toasted his guest as follows:

"I drink to the health of the Russian Emperor, who henceforth will be, as admiral *à la suite* of my navy, with his expressed consent, carried in my lists in that capacity. Long live the Czar!"

Taking account of his French friends, the Czar answered in French: "I am much pleased with this distinction, and with the reception accorded me, and I drink to the welfare of my dear friend and cousin. Long life to the German Kaiser and to the German navy!"

The same evening Alexander III. left the harbor of Kiel in order to proceed to Copenhagen. The Russian press admitted the importance of this *entrevue*, declaring it to be another "pillar" for the continuance of the peace of the world, a blessing which benefited all. One of the leading Russian journals added:

"Passions will subside. Everybody is weary of nervousness in foreign politics. It is time for every country to occupy itself with its own internal development."

A peace demonstration on a gigantic scale is what the visit amounted to which King Humbert and Queen Margherita of Italy paid to the German Kaiser from June 20th to 24th. After a parade in the Lustgarten, in Potsdam, on June 21st, the Kaiser made a short, felicitous speech of welcome, avoiding, however, political allusions.

On June 23d, two days later, the Italian royal couple were within the walls of Berlin, and the reception

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accorded them by the entire populace was enthusiastic.

The year 1893 brought no surprises and no new political groupings in Europe. The conviction had, however, by this time taken firm root that Germany and her Kaiser would never begin war of their own volition. That which at the beginning of his reign would have been deemed improbable, if not impossible, had now actually come to pass. William II. began to be considered by many not alone as the preserver of peace so far as Germany was concerned, but as the consistent and able champion of the peace of the world.

In January, 1893, the marriage of Princess Margaret, sister of the Kaiser, and Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, was solemnized in Berlin. Among the guests present on this occasion was the Russian Grand-duke Nicholas, now the reigning Czar, who subsequently married the bridegroom's sister, Princess Alix of Hesse. The Kaiser accompanied the Grand-duke to the luncheon given in his honor by the Czar Alexander Grenadier Guards, and there proposed the following toast, couched in highly conciliatory terms:

"With the permission of your Imperial Highness, I, as the eldest comrade in the regiment, will empty my first glass to the health of his Majesty, the father of your Imperial Highness.

"All of us in this regiment still remember the gracious words with which his Majesty the Czar made his regiment happy at his visit in 1889. The many evidences of interest and the lively satisfaction shown in so many ways by his Majesty to his regiment, but also the friendly sympathy evinced on festive occasions in my house, and culminating in the mission now intrusted to your Imperial Highness, prompt me to express my warmest thanks. We all of us see in your imperial father not

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only the august chief of this regiment; not only our most renowned comrade, but, above all, the bearer of approved monarchic institutions, and of a tested friendship and ties of intimate relationship with my distinguished predecessors, whose fruition was sealed, in by-gone days, by Russian as well as Prussian regiments in battles fought for a common cause. . . .”

In furtherance of the cordial relations existing between Emperor William and his allies, the German imperial couple undertook, on April 17th, a journey to Rome, to participate there in the celebration of the silver wedding of the King and Queen of Italy. On April 22d a grand banquet took place at the Quirinal, and the Kaiser replied to a welcoming speech by King Humbert in a manner to bring out clearly the close political bonds uniting the two countries. The most characteristic passage of his reply was to this effect:

“Hand in hand with this personal friendship [between the two monarchs and dynasties.—ED.] goes the warm sympathy uniting the German and Italian nations, and which lately has found renewed and forcible expression. . . .”

On the return trip from Rome the Kaiser took, on May 2d, a brief sojourn in Lucerne. After a circular tour of the Lake of Lucerne, the imperial couple were welcomed by the President of the Swiss Republic, Schenk. At the subsequent banquet the Kaiser replied to President Schenk’s address—in which he had been congratulated on his unceasing efforts to further the cause of peace—in a brief speech, the concluding paragraphs of which said:

“It is with satisfaction that I confirm the statement

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that our good and neighborly relations, existing for ages, continue unabated. I indulge the hope that traffic and commerce between Switzerland and Germany, as provided by treaties, will develop in a mutually satisfactory manner, and that this will contribute towards consolidating and increasing the friendship existing between the two nations. . . .”

This visit had much to do with the palpable fact that from that time on the tone of the Swiss press became much more cordial towards Germany. The implied pledge of respecting the independence of the Swiss people, and the distinct acknowledgment of its political autonomy, both contained in the Kaiser's remarks, soothed Swiss susceptibilities.

The Italian Crown-prince, Victor Emmanuel, was present at the big German manœuvres along the Rhine and in Alsace-Lorraine, in order to testify before the world to the intimate bonds uniting the two countries. Several times, in Coblenz and in Metz, the Kaiser took occasion to dwell publicly on the closeness of these relations.

On October 31st of the same year a Russian squadron arrived in the harbor of Toulon, thus returning the visit of the French squadron to Kronstadt. Very cordial despatches were exchanged between President Carnot and Czar Alexander III.

The year 1894 brought about an event which did much to improve the slightly strained relations between Germany and Russia. On March 16th the German Parliament approved the commercial treaty with Russia, and for years thereafter the commercial affiliations between the two nations became much more intimate and mutually profitable, and the tone of the press, too, changed much for the better on both sides.¹

¹ It is well known that the necessity of improving and re-Kaiser recognized the urgent adjusting commercial and politi-

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On April 7th the Kaiser had a meeting with the King of Italy at Venice. On August 5th William II. paid another visit to England, being there again received, both at court and on the part of the population, with pronounced cordiality.

On November 1, 1894, died Czar Alexander III. The Kaiser happened to be in Stettin, helping to celebrate a regimental festivity of the 2d Regiment of the Grenadiers. While at table news was brought of the death, and the Kaiser at once rose and said:

"... Just now news comes of a saddening and portentous event. His Majesty the Czar is dead!

"Nicholas II. has ascended the throne of his fathers, one of the most momentous inheritances into which a ruler can enter. We who are assembled here, and have just thrown a backward glance at our traditions, are also conscious of those ties which formerly were cemented by the blood-brotherhood of war and which have of late united us anew with the Russian imperial house. We express our feelings for the new Czar, just entering on his duties, by wishing him the assistance of Heaven to lend him strength for his heavy task. May the Emperor Nicholas II. live long! Hurrah!"

From the first, relations between the new Russian potentate and William II. were better and more cordial than they had ever been with Alexander III. The distinct improvement dating from his accession benefited also the relations between the two countries.

It was in the early summer of 1895 that the Baltic Canal was opened. The Kaiser had personally devised

cal relations with Russia. When		commercial treaty with Russia,
Count Caprivi, then his Chancellor,		he called it "a real saving deed!"
came to him with the news		Commerce between Russia and
of having perfected the new		Germany was doubled.—Ed.

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the whole elaborate programme of the series of festivities which were to mark this event, and he it was, too, who supervised its execution in every detail. In the main his design was to turn the affair into an imposing and impressive demonstration in favor of peace and harmony among the civilized nations. The provisions were of such a character that even France could not refuse to join in the demonstration. The Kaiser utilized to the full the rare opportunity offered him by this concourse of distinguished guests, met for a common purpose, in making propaganda for his ideas. Several of his set and impromptu speeches during the week of festive events attest it.

On June 18th, at the preliminary fête in Hamburg, he said, in answer to the formal address by the mayor, Dr. Mönckeberg, among other things:

“We join two oceans. Towards the sea our thoughts are turning—the sea, symbol of eternity. Oceans do not sever; they join. And the binding oceans are in turn joined by this new link, for the good and the peace of nations. The iron-clad power now assembled in Kiel harbor is, at the same time, meant to be a symbol of peace, of the co-operation of all civilized nations in the preservation and maintenance of Europe’s mission of civilization.

“And having cast a glance at the eternal sea, we now turn and look upon the sea of nations. The hearts of all nations turn questioningly hitherward. They demand and desire peace. In times of peace only the commerce of the world can develop and expand, and peace we will and must maintain. Hamburg’s commerce, too, may it blossom and flourish! It will ever find the protection of the imperial eagle, no matter where its paths may lead across the world. . . .”

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Eminently pacific, too, was the oration which the Kaiser made, on June 21st, at the laying of the cornerstone of the Baltic Canal,¹ in the presence of a score of crowned heads and of hundreds of their naval and diplomatic representatives from all the leading countries of the globe. The United States, it will be remembered, was represented on this occasion by a fine naval squadron, comprising the (at that time) finest and most powerful vessels afloat. Its most interesting portion was as follows:

“With joy and pride I look upon this brilliant and festive gathering, and jointly with my exalted allies I bid you, the guests of the empire, a cordial welcome. Our heartfelt thanks to you all for the fellow-feeling shown in the completion of a work which, planned and executed in peace, is to-day given over to the world for general use. . . .

“ . . . But we have toiled not alone for home interests. In accordance with the civilizatory mission of the German nation, we throw open to-day the locks of this canal to the peaceful commerce of all nations. It will be a just source of gratification to us if the growing use to which it is put will testify that the aims which impelled us have not alone been appreciated, but that it will promote the welfare of the world.

“Participation in this dedicatory festivity on the part of the powers whose representatives we see among us, and whose magnificent vessels we have all of us admired, I appreciate the more, as I look upon it as a proof that our efforts for the maintenance of peace are properly recognized. Germany will utilize for peaceful purposes the great enterprise which we in-

¹ The official name given this canal, joining between points about fifteen miles up the Elbe mouth, from Hamburg, the North Sea to the Baltic Ocean, near Kiel, is Kaiser Wilhelm Canal.—ED.

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augurate to-day, and will rejoice if the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, in furtherance of this idea, will have a share in consolidating and aiding our amicable relations to the other powers. . . .”

On July 12th Czar Nicholas II., at a banquet in Peterhof, spoke in a markedly appreciative vein of the unusually pacific tone of the Kaiser's speech at the canal opening. He declared that “the warm and cordial note in it finds a hearty response in my own heart.” The relations between the German Kaiser and the autocrat of Russia gained, despite the growing intimacy of the Russo-French *entente*, more and more in warmth. Although the Czar, perforce, kept up the friendship with France brought about under his father's reign, he, nevertheless, was by no means unfriendly in his dealings with the Kaiser and the empire. It is even quite permissible to assume that Czar Nicholas II., whom the world soon was to recognize as an eminent prince of peace, utilized precisely the excellent relations between Russia and France in striving for a gradual reconciliation between France and Germany. Important events which soon after culminated in far Asia and elsewhere admit of hardly any other solution.

It is, however, rather significant that the Kaiser has made no public utterance since the opening of the Baltic Canal which can be construed as championing peace. At least, none such has been reported. Is it, therefore, to be deduced that his views have undergone a change in this respect, as they certainly did in other and vital respects? Or is it fair to him to assume that his purpose once served, and his reputation as a peace-loving ruler established, he felt it no longer incumbent upon himself to play the conspicuous rôle of a “prince of peace”? Probably both factors had something to do with it. Further on in this book, for instance, will

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be found some more recent speeches by the Kaiser in which he, apparently without restraint and giving full vent to his natural bent for warlike glory, talks in a very different strain from that reported with such genuine approval by M. Jules Simon. Another thing, too, ought to be given weight in judging the Kaiser. His is a very complex nature, and in his impulsive way he has quite frequently spoken, under the stress of momentary excitement, very differently on important topics at different times.

II

THE KAISER AND FRANCE

His interesting relations with the French statesman, Jules Simon—A graphic portrait—Failure of the Empress Frederick's visit to Paris—Telegrams and letters of condolence—The Kaiser and the Dreyfus affair—The incident of the *Iphigénie*—Kaiser's magnanimous speech on the battle-field of St. Privat—His toast to his French guest, General Bonnal, and to the French army.

WHEN Kaiser William II. came to reign, France had not yet disentangled herself from the turbulent and dangerous political disorder precipitated by the Boulangist party. The importance of Boulanger and the movement which took its name from him lay solely in his urging on a war of revenge, and in the acutely Germanophobe state of mind in France brought on by him and his aides and allies, threatening to produce at any moment an explosion of such violence as to render subsequent peaceable adjustment very difficult, if not impossible.

When the then Tirard cabinet finally resolved, on March 26, 1888, to deprive Boulanger, on the plea of having disobeyed orders, of his command of the 13th Army Corps, it left Boulanger, but lately elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies, the more free to continue his agitation and his ramified activity looking to a revision of the French constitution. These machinations on the part of the Boulangist party were prone to threaten, if successful, the peace of the world.

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The storm, however, blew over, and the consistently pacific attitude which the Kaiser and his government at that critical time preserved assisted the process of internal readjustment in France, at least indirectly.

In 1889 France had her great jubilee of the French Revolution, and this centenary celebration had its most conspicuous illustration in the universal exposition held at Paris that year. Germany had refused, while the old emperor, William I., was still alive, to attend the exposition. This attitude of Germany, while probably wise and appropriate under the given circumstances, had, nevertheless, considerably piqued the French. On May 6th the exposition was opened. Shortly before that, the League of Patriots, under Déroulède, whose principal object was the keeping alive of the *revanche* idea, had joined hands with Boulanger. But their joy was short-lived. Boulanger, when the government made up its mind to indict him, fled, first to Brussels, and next to London. The alliance which the French government had so ardently desired formally to conclude with Russia had now to be indefinitely postponed, at least until the inchoate internal conditions in the republic, which at that particular juncture seemed destined soon to go under, had again found their sound and natural level. The French government had first to furnish the Czar with proof that it was both willing and able to create anew order out of chaos. With that object in view it finally took the bull by the horns, and placed not only Boulanger but the whole League of Patriots under accusation, alleging as reason their dangerous tendencies, calculated to undermine the welfare and security of the state. Boulanger, Dillon, and Rochefort were sentenced, *in contumaciam*, to deportation. The manifesto which Boulanger published soon after had no very palpable effect in France. And when the great and profitable

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exposition closed, President Carnot, as well as Premier Tirard, were able to make addresses breathing peace and good-will. A dangerous reef, threatening at the very outset of William II.'s reign to involve him in war and possible shipwreck, had been removed from view.

In the succeeding year, 1890, the Kaiser convened in Berlin an international conference for the protection and safety of the laboring classes. One of the French delegates was the noted political leader and writer Jules Simon. He, who had been treated with particular distinction and tact by the Kaiser, gained a very high opinion of the latter. It was probably due to Simon that the French journal *Le Parisien* about this time said in an editorial article:

"Kaiser William has made a speech at the opening of the Reichstag which, as regards the preservation of universal peace, was of undeniable quieting effect. In it he stated emphatically his purpose to launch the imperial policy more and more into the paths which lead to a study, amelioration and possible final solution of the social question.

"The physiognomy of the young sovereign accentuates itself from day to day with greater distinctness. Certainly he has remained above all a soldier, for, in enumerating the reforms aimed at by him, he concludes with threatening disturbers of the peace, just as he is creating new regiments all the time, so as to secure, in his own way, the peace of Europe.

"Nevertheless, it seems that the grandson of William the Conqueror means to conquer, first of all, the working-man. He clearly sees the requirements of the times, and he loyally acknowledges his duty to do all in his power in order to improve the lot of those who are born to toil and suffering.

"With us the successor of Frederick III. has been greatly distrusted. At his accession there were many who believed that war would come because of diplomatic jugglery, or because of frontier disputes magnified for the purpose. Next we have smiled at his feverish activity, his odes to the stars, his ceaseless parades, his innumerable hunting excursions, his rescripts regulating the most trivial things.

"We must abandon the scoffing mood. Kaiser William II.

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has the will to do the right and the good. He works hard, and he understands exceedingly well conditions with which sovereigns as a rule do not trouble themselves.

"This is no reason why we should love him (there is too much spilt blood between him and France), but it is a reason why we should no longer speak of him with self-sufficiency. Only by taking ourselves the lead in all reforms, only by continuing ourselves to be the benefactors of mankind, only by breaking ourselves the old, worn-out moulds, and making steadily towards progress in all great things, may our country successfully grapple with the new methods inaugurated by our foes."

Under his own signature Jules Simon published in the *Revue de Paris*, in 1894 (in its August issue), a portrait sketch of Kaiser William. Some excerpts from it are of interest. He says:

"... For a long time I have been asked to give a portrait of William II., but I am resolved not to draw one. I have not the time to do justice to it. . . . He who would draw such a portrait would have to study thoroughly every phase of the history of Europe since the death of Kaiser Frederick, for nothing has happened since then in which William II. has not had a hand. The author would also have to make himself acquainted with all the mazes of diplomacy and with the life of the courts, and to do this down to the very smallest details. For that is one of the peculiar and characteristic traits of the young Kaiser's mind, that it embraces at one and the same time the biggest as well as the most trivial matters. He knows in advance what is contained in the reports of his chancellor and of his courtiers. His biographer would also have to possess intimate acquaintance with the life of those great contemporaries who have had dealings with William II., above all, of the life of Prince Bismarck, who in a certain sense has been the sharer of imperial power, and that of Count Moltke, whose life was as glorious and not quite so stormy as Bismarck's.

"... I have been told that I have seen and conversed with him. True. But that I have done jointly with all those diplomats who have spent some time in Berlin. One cannot judge a man like this one in half an hour, nor even in two hours.

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"... It is necessary to create a third category for William II. He talks much because he thinks much, and he confides to you his thoughts, even without knowing you, because he means to let the whole world know his thoughts.

"... The congress which I attended took place in the halls of the chancellor's palace—*i. e.*, at Bismarck's, whose position at that time, though it was just before his retirement, did not appear to be shaken. The Kaiser did not come to the opening of our sessions, and never put in an appearance at the congress. But we were invited to a great court reception, to a concert given in honor of the Prince of Wales, and to a banquet which the Kaiser gave us. These monarchical ceremonies were an interesting spectacle for me, who was not brought up on the lap of duchesses, and also for my French colleagues, who had not even known the Emperor Napoleon III. personally.

"... The whole crowd pressed towards a wide entrance at the moment when the majesties were announced. The Emperor and the Empress saluted right and left, and chatted for a moment with guests of distinction. The Kaiser accosted me in an amiable manner, saying a few pleasant words, and the Empress did the same, which, I am told, is a favor seldom shown on her part. The court marshal then begged me to take my seat at the table on the right hand of the Kaiser. . . .

"I thus found myself at table between the Kaiser and a lady—I believe a lady-in-waiting, or the chief *maréchale*. The Empress sat on the left of the Kaiser, and she had on her left the Bishop of Breslau, my colleague, and the vice-president of the congress, he who since has become his Eminence Cardinal Prince-Bishop Kopp. Count Moltke sat opposite the Kaiser, and hence directly facing me. The Kaiser chatted with me during the whole of the dinner. My memory is not exact enough to say what he told me on that particular day, or on one of the succeeding ones. But I recall at least the substance of the principal conversations I had with him. On that particular day on which he, standing on the steps of the throne, received the whole court, there was, of course, no conversation with him, and this applies also to the great concert which took place in the White Hall of the royal castle. But the Kaiser has created another kind of court of which he told me himself, and which is envied as intensely as was the Marly court of Louis XIV. The Kaiser receives every week, on a certain night, twenty of his friends—no more. I quote his own words:

"I receive twenty friends, no more—officers, professors.

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The public believes that we meet in order to hold a species of secret council of state. It is supposed that we occupy ourselves with politics. On the contrary! We simply meet for relaxation, and to drink and gossip. We talk about art, about literature.'

"The Kaiser honored me with an invitation to one of these informal meetings. . . . It was dusk, the hall not too well lit, and the light of waning day struggled with that of the candles. The whole furniture consisted of a number of stools around a large table covered with green cloth. I fancied I was in an antechamber, when suddenly one of the officers detached himself from a group near by and approached me, asking whether I had been pleased with my visit to Sans Souci. I immediately recognized the Kaiser. I had, indeed, been to Sans Souci that morning in one of the court coaches, offered me in the most amiable way. He wanted to know exactly what impression Sans Souci had made on me. I told him that Voltaire's room, arranged in somewhat forced taste, had not pleased me. He at once spoke of the rooms of Frederick the Great.

"'I have seen them,' I said, 'and I have also found his desk, but not his flute.'

"Laughingly he answered that I should at least see the score of the flute concerts, of which he was getting out an edition, and on which much care was being expended. He said he was going to send me a copy of it. Nobody could have made a present in a more amiable manner. The book was, indeed, sent me some time after in Paris by the German Embassy there.

"We seated ourselves around the green table, and, as on the day of the banquet, I was told to sit next to the Kaiser. Then the smoking and drinking began. This time I had a long conversation with the Kaiser. The meeting lasted till long after midnight. Before reporting about this conversation I must speak of the Kaiser's French.

"He does speak French.

"'Fluently?'

"Very fluently.

"'Correctly?'

"Very correctly.

"'Does he speak it with an accent?'

"Entirely without an accent. The one of us two who spoke the purest French was he. For I have in my language a little, perhaps very little, of the Breton accent, and the Kaiser

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speaks like a Parisian. He asked me what I thought of his pronunciation.

“‘You speak,’ I said, ‘like a Parisian.’

“‘That is not astonishing,’ he replied. ‘I have a friend (he uses this term by preference when mentioning his servants) who was my tutor for ten years and who still remains with me. He is a Frenchman and a purist. Have you ever heard me use an incorrect expression?’

(“I am not only member of the Academy, but also member of the commission for the publication of our great French dictionary.)

“‘Only once,’ I answered.

“I saw that the Kaiser was astonished.

“‘And when was that?’ he asked.

“‘It was when your Majesty said to me, “We meet to drink and gossip,” using the term *godailler*.’

“‘But *godailler* is a good French word,’ said the Kaiser. ‘You will find it in the dictionary of the Academy.’

“‘It is in the dictionary. But it is used neither in the Academy nor in the drawing-rooms of the Academy.’

“‘I shall make a note of that. And that was the only time?’

“‘I swear to your Majesty, you are, like your teacher, a purist.’

“This little matter seemed to amuse him hugely. In the further course of our conversation I noticed that he possessed an extraordinarily intimate acquaintance with our principal writers. Since I know how he manages to keep constantly *au courant* of all the details of state and army affairs, and since I saw how crowded and intense his life is, I could not understand how he still found time to read French novels. He assured me also that he enjoyed family life, and that he was never happier than when dining at home, alone with his family, like a plain Berlin citizen. His wife, he said, was in the habit of reading a chapter from a novel before retiring.¹ This must surely be true, because he told me so, although such a universality is scarcely credible. But his is a mind which is never

¹ But whatever may have been true in 1890 in this respect, nowadays the Kaiser, except during his Northland summer trips on board his yacht, hardly ever reads a novel, and relatively but few books of any kind. Those he does read treat, with rare exceptions, of serious topics—naval, military, political, economic, etc.—ED.

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in repose, never loses a minute's time, and grasps everything with amazing rapidity.

"I was fishing for some expression from him about our modern writers, and he did make such a one, without being much pressed. Instantly he showed sympathy and antipathy, both of a passionate kind. His admiration was for Ohnet, about whom he spoke in a few amiable phrases, turned with the skill and acumen of a professional critic. His antipathy was for Zola, and, I must confess, it was very violent. I made an attempt to defend my famous compatriot, and said that he was an incomparable teller of stories and a very keen observer.

"'I know very well,' said the Kaiser, 'that he has great merits. But he does not owe his success to them, but rather to the immoral and indecent things with which he poisons his writings. And yet he it is whom France at present prefers to all her other writers. He it is who is accorded enthusiastic acclaim, and that gives us in other countries the right to pass a severe verdict on the state of your morals.'

"I was suffering acutely at this moment, all the more as the Kaiser made this remark without bad intention and without prejudice.

"'I hear,' continued the Kaiser, 'that a new book by him is soon to appear. You will see that that, too, will be greedily devoured, and that your whole literature will disappear before this news.'

"I took the liberty to remark that Zola is read, too, in Berlin.

"'Not with pleasure,' said the Kaiser, 'and more from curiosity. His readers here are but thinly distributed. But in your country he will be in the hands of everybody.'

"I should have liked to obtain from the Kaiser some expression of political import, but did not like to force the conversation into that channel. However, I made several attempts in that direction, with all the diplomatic skill I could muster, and put on a very innocent face the while. But the Kaiser has an indescribable manner of overhearing at certain moments certain words. Nevertheless, I succeeded in prodding him into two expressions, both of which I rejoiced to hear, although they are not at all original. We spoke about the war, and the Kaiser said:

"'Since my accession I have thought a great deal, and I have come to the conclusion that for a man situated as I am

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it is worth a great deal more to do good to mankind than to inspire them with fear.'

"And as I then touched on the question of a possible future war between the two countries, and added that the people of France were for the far larger part inclined to peace, the Kaiser said, with amazing impartiality:

"'I declare to you that your army has made splendid progress. It has worked well; it is ready for war. If your army should—which I sincerely hope will never be the case—face our own army on the field of battle, nobody could foresee the end of the struggle. And, therefore, I hold him a criminal and a fool who should undertake to urge these two nations into a war against each other. . . .'

"I trust that in this brief recital my memory has not been inexact. I have purposely been incomplete in it; but I hope for that very reason I have spoken the truth. And I believe that these few lines will be accepted as well as an expression of our gratitude for the reception which the Kaiser gave us. . . ."

However, politically Germany and France were not ripe at that time for a closer understanding. The Kaiser, though, was of opinion that on the neutral field of art a gradual reconciliation might be effected between the two countries. It was with this purpose in view that he induced his mother, the Empress Frederick, when she, in February, 1891, went to England on a visit to Queen Victoria, to take her way *via* Paris. She was to try and interest French artists in participating in the International Art Exposition in Berlin. It was the first time since the war of 1870-71 that a member of the German imperial family found itself in Paris. The Empress Frederick, accompanied by her daughter, Princess Margaret, arrived in Paris and put up at the German Embassy with Count Münster.

The public at first was silent, though deferential. A number of the leading French politicians and government officials called and inscribed their names in the lists of the German Embassy. The larger part of the

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French press welcomed the Empress Frederick very amiably. *Le Parisien* said:

"The people, with their common-sense, show good-natured curiosity, although no real sympathy, for the German Empress, since she it was who merely tolerated, not provoked, the war."

Le Gaulois, usually rabidly anti-German, praised the Empress Frederick for her exalted womanly virtues and for her fairness in adjudging France.

Le Temps pointed out that the Empress Frederick had repeatedly expressed the sentiment that "the fine arts and their culture will bring about the approximation of nations," and its welcoming article concluded with the words:

"Perhaps we shall now see the first step in such a policy of reconciliation, and the arrival of the Empress-mother will be the first link in such a *rapprochement*."

This conciliatory attitude of the Paris press was in consonance with the previous reports sent Kaiser William, and there was no doubt that the leading circles in France at that time felt well disposed. It is, therefore, unjust to the Kaiser to blame him for exposing his mother to the insults of an excitable and inconstant populace. He could not foresee the turn which affairs took a couple of days later.

On February 18th the Empress-mother had arrived in Paris, and on the 24th the entire Paris press was discussing the question, more or less dispassionately and rationally, whether the time had come to consider a *rapprochement* with Germany. By far the larger number of journals gave a verdict in favor of the idea.

This, however, did not at all suit the programme of the League of Patriots, under Déroulède, and the

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Boulangists. The Boulangists convened a largely attended mass-meeting, in which the presence of the Empress Frederick was ventilated and the facts in the case were represented in such twisted and garbled shape as to make it appear that the arrival and sojourn of the Empress Frederick was an insult to France. It was so declared by the meeting.

This meeting was held on the 25th, and on the 26th demonstrations were begun, and all the French artists, who already had intimated their willingness to attend the Berlin exposition, retracted their half-promise. The excitement of the masses in Paris, artificially produced by Boulangist machinations, grew within a few hours so rapidly that it became necessary for the Empress Frederick to hurriedly leave Paris. Her departure, in fact, resembled a flight, and had to be managed with great precaution. Fortunately for peace and Franco-German relations, she was enabled to leave without any serious disturbance.

Thus it was that, owing to the intrigues of the League of Patriots and of the Boulangists, the Kaiser's design to effect a *rapprochement* between the two countries, hostile for a score of years, and which had been approved and even counselled beforehand by a large number of the leading personages in France, was frustrated. The Kaiser was offended. He replied to the demonstration of a number of Parisian political clubs by a decree which rendered once more communication between Alsace-Lorraine and France very difficult. In fact, the passport regulations on the frontier were made so stringent that for a time passenger traffic almost completely ceased.

This retaliatory measure increased bitterness on the French side, and it led to an interpellation by the Boulangists in the Chamber of Deputies, on July 16th, as to the passport measures taken by Germany

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in Alsace-Lorraine. The French cabinet, however, refused to discuss this ticklish subject. However, the Chamber was so wrought up at the time that it passed a resolution, 286 against 203 votes, to debate the interpellation, notwithstanding the government's refusal to answer it. The government, though, was able to muster sufficient votes to enforce adjournment for a day. And on reassembling on the day following the Chamber refused, by a vote of 319 to 3, to enter into a discussion of the interpellation.

Notwithstanding this incident, the year 1891 was not to close without bringing more favorable auspices for reconciliation with Germany. On October 10th the governor-general of Alsace-Lorraine, Prince Hohenlohe,¹ was given a grand ovation in Strassburg, on his return from a trip to Berlin, the occasion being the rescinding of the decree relative to the enforcement of passport regulations in passing the frontier either way. This step, it was ascertained later on, was due to the initiative of the Kaiser, and the fact created a very good impression, not only in Germany and in the Reichslande,² but in France as well.

A new proof of his conciliatory spirit was furnished by the Kaiser in his speech in Stettin, on December 14th, on the launching of the big iron-clad, the *Weissenburg*. He said in it:

"Thou shalt bear the name of that day which was portentous for our history, for on that day³ was laid the foundation-stone for the structure whose summit bears the imperial crown. The name will recall that

¹ Subsequently Chancellor of the Empire.

² The official German designation for Alsace-Lorraine, meaning "lands belonging to the empire."

³ The battle of Weissenburg was the first serious engagement that took place at the outbreak of the Franco-German War.—ED.

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battle-field on which, for the first time, under the leadership of Crown - prince Frederick William, the united German armies won a victory over the knightly foe, and by this first victory for the German arms earned the possibility of further successes."

This single word "knightly" sufficed once more to give encouragement to the advocates of reconciliation in France.

In 1893, after the adjustment of the Panama Canal scandal, the internal conditions of France began perceptibly to improve. The republic was not swamped, but, on the contrary, it was found that after the complete removal of Boulanger sounder life was infused into French parliamentarism.

On October 18th the German ambassador in Paris, Count Münster, sent the following telegram to the widow of ex-President MacMahon:

"His Majesty the German Emperor, as soon as he had been informed of the sad loss which you have suffered, instructed me to depose a wreath upon the grave of the intrepid, noble-minded field-marshal, thus to testify to his deep sympathy. . . ."

This courteous attention shown by the Kaiser made a great impression in France, and Jules Simon summoned enough courage to write in *Le Figaro*, a fortnight later, on the question of Alsace-Lorraine, in a manner which two years before would not have been tolerated. He wrote:

"How often have they told me in Germany: 'You have obstinately made up your minds not to sign the receipt. Resign yourselves at last to the thought that the two provinces are lost to you—which is an accomplished fact—and peace, real peace, will be at once established between the two countries'! I can well believe that. But the Prussians, who give us this advice, themselves did not act on it after Jena.

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They know just as well as we do that honor does not permit us to follow it. We cannot supinely acquiesce in the conquest while our forcibly Germanized brothers stretch out their arms to us. It is not our duty to assume responsibilities for the future. But that which we may properly do, and what it is quite possible to do, is to postpone all ideas of war and revenge. And this we are now doing. Public opinion demands a truce for a long period, and the giving notice of its termination on short order, and on the basis of present territorial possessions. Public opinion is ready to prolong this truce until the end of the century, in the hope that peaceable toil will bring about a reposeful and conciliatory frame of mind. That at this moment is our rôle and our thought."

On June 24, 1894, the President of the French Republic, Carnot, while in Lyons, fell a victim to the dagger of the Italian assassin and anarchist, Caserio. The very first personage outside of France who expressed his sympathy at the horrible deed was the German Emperor. He telegraphed:

*"To Madame Carnot, Paris,—*Her Majesty the Empress and myself are most deeply grieved at receipt of the awful news from Lyons. Be assured, madame, that our full sympathy and all our thoughts are at this moment with you and your family. May God give you strength to withstand this terrible blow. Worthy of his great name, Monsieur Carnot died like a soldier on the field of honor.

“WILLIAM I. R.”

This telegram from the German Emperor was greeted in the great majority of Paris papers with sincere approval. Casimir Périer succeeded to the presidency. The Kaiser shortly after resolved on another manifestation. Two French naval officers, sentenced as spies to terms of, respectively, six and four years confinement, and who had only served six months of

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their time in the fortress of Glatz, were pardoned by the Kaiser. This act of clemency was accompanied by the declaration that it was done to show sympathy with the French people at this their hour of profound grief. This courtly act of the Kaiser's deeply moved wide strata of the French nation. The major portion of the Paris press received his accompanying declaration with enthusiastic gratitude. The newly elected President, Périér, personally went to the German Embassy to render his thanks for the chivalrous act. Large numbers of leading French politicians followed his example. It is interesting to note that the German press, in its overwhelming portion, did not agree with the Kaiser in this matter, opining that this meant a too great friendliness of their ruler towards the French.

In his book *Quatre Portraits*, in 1896, Jules Simon said:

"I cannot help expressing the view that the attitude of the German Emperor towards France has, especially lately, met all my expectations and hopes. . . . I regard Emperor William II. and Pope Leo XIII. as the two most interesting figures of our time. . . . The Kaiser, I sincerely believe, is one of the greatest hopes for the continuance of peace. I believe—I know—that he wishes peace. He does not feel hostile towards France; he has studied her in every phase. He has shown, under peculiarly difficult circumstances, courtesy and friendliness. I no more than others have forgotten 1870, and have never for a moment lost sight of French hopes. But I put peace, so long as honor remains intact, above all other earthly boons, and I believe with the Kaiser that every hour of prolonged peace promotes peace itself."

On January 29, 1895, the Kaiser sent the following telegram to the son-in-law of Marshal Canrobert, the naval lieutenant De Navacelle, in Paris:

"My ambassador announces to me the death of

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Marshal Canrobert. With all my heart I and my guard corps sorrow at the death of the heroic defender of St. Privat, who filled us forever with admiration."

On the afternoon of the same day the Kaiser received the telegram of Lieutenant Canrobert, apprising him likewise of the death of his father. And to this the Kaiser replied:

"Deeply moved by the mournful news you communicated, I must express to you my heartfelt sympathy. Both my late grandfather and father have often spoken to me of the brave marshal with the highest admiration and esteem

"WILLIAM I. R."

On January 30th son and son-in-law together replied as follows:

"Marshal Canrobert would have profoundly appreciated the sentiments which your Majesty, also speaking for your guard corps, has uttered. In their grief the family of the marshal send to your Majesty respectful assurances of their gratitude."

Meanwhile, however, Casimir Périer, in a moment of chagrin at his limited liberty of action, and at the rather inconsiderate procedure of the Dupuy cabinet, had resigned the presidency. Félix Faure succeeded him. Towards the end of May the mouthpieces of the *revanche* idea in France once more took umbrage at a step of the Kaiser's. He had invited to the dedicatory celebration of the opening of the Kiel Canal, which he meant to turn into a grand manifestation in favor of peace, representatives of the French Republic. But the irreconcilable Nationalist wing bitterly opposed the despatching of a French squadron to Kiel.

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They contended that to accept this invitation would be construed in Alsace-Lorraine as a definite renunciation of the provinces lost in 1871. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hanotaux, however, demonstrated to the Chamber of Deputies, at the session of May 31st, that France had every reason to put herself on a good footing with Germany. He showed that important events were impending in Asia. England and Japan, he claimed, had concluded an alliance whose ultimate purpose was nothing less than the dismemberment of China, and that this would mean the transference of the huge far Asiatic problem to European soil. Then Russia, France, and Germany joined in a common diplomatic action and raised a strong protest. This joint action, in which Germany and France, at least in diplomacy, were shoulder to shoulder for the first time in many years, had the desired effect. This diplomatic action was beyond question the most important and far-reaching event of 1895. Hanotaux said he could state with emphasis that in this matter Germany had rendered France a great service, and that it would, therefore, be an act of folly and of gross discourtesy for France not to accept an invitation tendered in a spirit of international politeness. The sole concession made by the French government to the irreconcilables was that the French vessels were to enter Kiel harbor together with the Russian ones. The former French Minister of War, General Dubarail, at that time wrote in *Le Gaulois*, and Jules Simon in *Le Figaro*, in favor of participating in the celebration at Kiel.

In August, 1895, the leading journals of Paris called attention to the fact that the opinions so far held in France relative to conditions in Alsace-Lorraine had been based on error. They pointed out that far from impatiently waiting for France to reunite them with

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their former country, the Alsatians, as a matter of fact, were quite satisfied with their new conditions. Commerce and industry flourished in those provinces to an unprecedented degree, and the Germanization of the conquered districts was proceeding, they wrote, slowly but surely.

On June 8, 1896, the Kaiser, hearing of the demise of Jules Simon, the intrepid and indefatigable advocate of reconciliation between the two countries, sent the following despatch to the President of the French Republic:

“France weeps again at the grave of one of her great sons. Monsieur Jules Simon is dead. I shall forever remain under the charm of his personality, when I recall the days during which he lent me his precious services for the amelioration of the lot of the laboring classes. Accept, Monsieur le Président, the assurances of my sincere sympathy.”

To this President Faure replied:

“France is sensible of the sentiments to which your Majesty lends expression at the death of one of her most distinguished sons. I beg your Majesty will accept the expression of my sincere thanks.
FÉLIX FAURE.”

Another step in the direction of reconciliation was taken by the Kaiser when he informed France, through the German ambassador in Paris, Count Münster, that Germany would make a point in taking part in the Paris exposition of 1900. This official and formal announcement made a vivid and lasting impression in France. One of the most significant signs of it was the address delivered at the annual meeting of the Alsace-Lorraine Protective Society, hitherto one of the chief centres of anti-German spirit in France.

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The principal orator on that occasion said, amid tokens of general approval:

"The wrath at our defeat has gradually evaporated. We no longer hate the great nation whose adversary we are compelled to be, and we do not judge it unfairly. The strife between France and Germany has the ennobling character of a strife between two dogmas and two ideals."

On May 4, 1897, fire broke out at a charitable bazaar held in Paris, at which thirty-four persons perished, among them the wife of the Duc d'Alençon, a sister of the Empress Elizabeth of Austria. The Kaiser again utilized the opportunity furnished to express his sympathy in a telegram to the President of the French Republic.

On May 11th, a week later, the Kaiser sent the sum of ten thousand marks, to be utilized for the relief of those poor who were to have been benefited by the proceeds of the fateful charity bazaar.

In August, 1897, President Faure visited the Czar in Russia, and the amiable words employed by Nicholas II., in a toast proposed in honor of his guest, created wild enthusiasm in Paris, so much so that nondescript throngs created several disturbances in front of the German Embassy there. The police, however, soon dispersed these mobs, and soon after reliable news reached Paris that the Russian government had been rather unfavorably impressed with these street demonstrations against Germany. Thereupon the latter completely ceased. They had sufficed, though, to show that with a certain part of the French population, albeit the minority, the slightest encouragement sufficed to inflame anew the hatred of Germany.

From 1898 on, France became absorbed for several years in the Dreyfus matter, dividing the nation into two hostile camps, and claiming the interest of the entire civilized world. Of course, those elements in

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France, both in her army and outside of it, who opposed, as their chief political dogma, reconciliation with Germany, found this an excellent opportunity for involving their late foe in the case. Italy, Russia, and Austria were also named as powers whose interests had been drawn into the vortex of this abominable affair. But it suited the intentions of the powerful "*revanche* idea" clique best to make out as strong a case as possible against Germany and the Kaiser, notwithstanding the fact that the latter and his government gave solemn assurances, through the mouth of the imperial chancellor in the Reichstag, that they could in perfect innocence wash their hands of the whole miserable business. This assurance, however, was only given when the "psychological moment" had arrived, and after a network of legends and myths had been spread throughout France coupling the Kaiser's name with that of Dreyfus.

It was at that time stated, with more or less plausibility, that Germany it was to whom Dreyfus had sold his alleged military secrets, and during the last phase of the trial the person of the Kaiser became directly implicated on certain pieces of evidence to the effect that suspicious scraps of the Kaiser's handwriting, commenting on the Dreyfus case, and, by innuendo, showing past relations with Dreyfus, had been picked up in the waste-basket near the Kaiser's desk in the New Palace, Potsdam.¹

¹ Internal evidence alone showed to anybody familiar with the Kaiser's vigorous, though eccentric, handwriting, and with the topography of and the regulations governing visitors to the New Palace, how impossible it was that this portion of the evidence adduced against Dreyfus could be true. The handwriting produced at the trial showed a radical divergence in essential respects from that of the Kaiser. Besides that, though, nobody but an idiot would have thrown such a treacherous piece of writing in a waste-basket whose contents the next morning would be free to the world. And a third clincher: at the time mentioned by the

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Unquestionably, it was a strong proof of the much better relations meanwhile established between the two countries, and of the powerlessness of the Germanophobe minority in France to imbitter anew and permanently these relations, that, even at a time when partisan feeling was seething, these systematic attempts to connect Germany with the Dreyfus case proved abortive and led to no serious ebullitions of anti-German sentiment.

In July of that year (1898) the French navy met with a calamity. The *Bourgogne* went down, and the Kaiser sent from his *Hohenzollern*, on board of which he was just then pursuing his annual midsummer trip to the Scandinavian north, a telegram of condolence to the President of France.

During the last part of 1898 several significant signs made their appearance. Duvignet, a well-known French publicist, who had all along been a grim foe to reconciliation, changed his tune completely, and in his influential paper, *L'Autorité*, went the lengths of counselling a better understanding with Germany, "even if renunciation of Alsace-Lorraine should have to be final." In a second article, on December 18th, Duvignet himself declared that it afforded him great gratification to be able to say that his bold attitude had brought him "from every side the approval of his readers, even from stern patriots." Another noted writer, Lemaître, in the *Écho de Paris*, likewise advocated the same plan in an able manner.

A few weeks later, in January, 1899, the Kaiser was suffering from a cold and was unable to hold personally the regular New Year's reception at the castle in Berlin. The President of the French Republic immediately requested the ambassador in Berlin to make personal

witnesses at the trial the Kaiser | Palace at all, but was off on his
was not staying at the New | Northern summer trip.—ED.

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inquiries about the Kaiser's health. The monarch, after his recovery, on January 10th, reciprocated this courtesy by paying a call on the French ambassador.

When President Faure died suddenly, from an apoplectic fit, the German Emperor again came quickly to the front, and on February 18th wired to the widow, Madame Faure, as follows:

"Greatly saddened by the news of the death of your husband, the President of the French Republic, I hasten to assure you how sincerely I mourn with you your terrible loss. The Empress joins me in heartfelt wishes that the Almighty God will give you strength to bear the sorrow now bowing you down.

"WILLIAM I. R."

To attend the funeral of President Faure, the Kaiser sent to Paris five representatives — among them his adjutant-general, Prince Anton Radziwill, and one of his highest court officials, Count Wedel. The papers there spoke in a very sympathetic tone of the honor thus conferred on the defunct chief of the nation.

On July 6th of the same year another incident occurred which testified very plainly to the steadily improving relations between the two countries. Steaming with his yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, into the roadstead of Bergen, Norway, that being one of the first points on his regular midsummer recreation itinerary, he found there awaiting him the German school-ship *Gneisenau* and the French school-ship *Iphigénie*. The latter, of course, had been ordered there by previous arrangement with the French government, just as much as the German vessel had obeyed the Berlin authorities in meeting the French vessel there. It is well to state explicitly this fact here, because it was

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denied at the time, for obvious reasons, by some of the French as well as Russian papers.

The Kaiser, attired in an admiral's fatigue uniform, paid a visit on board the French vessel. He shook hands with each of the French officers, thoroughly inspected and overhauled the ship in every quarter, made himself personally acquainted with the entire crew, and then extended a cordial invitation to the French "middies" to pay him a visit on board the *Hohenzollern*.

Immediately thereafter the Kaiser addressed a telegram to President Loubet, saying:

"I have had the pleasure to see, on board the school-ship *Iphigénie*, young French mariners whose soldierly and sympathetic bearing, worthy of their noble country, has made a vivid impression upon me. As a mariner and comrade, my heart was gladdened by the amiable reception accorded me by the commander, the officers, and the crew. I congratulate you, Monsieur le Président, upon the happy chance afforded me to become acquainted both with the *Iphigénie* and your amiable compatriots.

"WILLIAM."

The answer by President Loubet was to the following effect:

"I am greatly touched by the telegram which your Imperial Majesty has addressed to me after a visit on board the school-ship *Iphigénie*, and I must thank your Majesty for the honors shown our naval men, and for the words in which your Majesty had the kindness to describe the impression which this visit had left.

LOUBET."

On July 7th some sixty cadets and all the officers of the *Iphigénie* paid a visit on board the *Hohenzollern*, off Bergen. Paris papers reported about this visit:

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"The Emperor, again in fatigue uniform, with his cloak reaching below the knees, behaved with the most charming amiability. He saluted his guests: 'Here are your comrades! There are ten of them who speak French. As for the others, you'll have to try and get along with one another somehow.' Then sandwiches and various refreshing beverages were distributed."

The report winds up by saying:

"Everything considered, we behaved correctly. The ice is too thick to melt at the first rays of the sun."

The Paris press at this time, too, recurred extensively to the many previous testimonials of sympathy shown by the Kaiser for France. They pointed out Germany's fair dealing in all colonial questions touching French interests. They spoke of the guarantee furnished by the Kaiser that the coming great exposition would see Germany splendidly represented, an example which other nations would be sure to follow. And they also began to discuss the problem whether the Kaiser would visit the exposition personally. The number of French papers advocating a neighborly understanding with Germany increased steadily. Several of them even went the length of proposing an alliance with the late foe, at least so far as common interests in colonial and far Asiatic questions were concerned. Even influential Russian journals expressed satisfaction at this Franco-German *rapprochement*, and stated that Czar Nicholas had repeatedly given expression to his joy at the growing friendliness between the two countries.

On August 18, 1899, Emperor William was present at the dedication of the monument erected on the battle-field of St. Privat in honor of the 1st Prussian Foot Guards, and made a speech on this occasion, in which occurred the following significant passage:

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“ . . . The form chosen for this monument differs from that usually seen on battle - fields. The armor - clad angel¹ reclines, peacefully resting on his sword, embellished with the proud motto of the regiment: *Semper talis*. It is, therefore, my will that this figure be interpreted in a symbolical way. The figure stands on this blood-soaked field like unto a guardian and sentinel for all the fearless soldiers of both armies who fell here, both on the French side and on the German. For the French soldiers, too, fighting here bravely and heroically for their emperor and their country, sank into a glorious grave. When our flags will bow in salute before the bronze statue and mournfully rustle over the graves of our dear comrades, they will at the same time wave over the last resting-places of our adversaries, whispering to them that we think of their courageous dead with melancholy respect. . . .”

It was to be expected that this address, magnanimous in its spirit towards a proud but vanquished foe, should be received with sympathy in France, and the Russian press, too, commented on it with approval.

The year 1900 saw France and Germany fight together in China, under the chief command of a German field-marshal, and jointly with the other powers.

At the beginning of 1901 Count Münster retired, because of increasing feebleness of age, from his post as German ambassador in Paris. Prince Radolin was his successor, and on March 2d President Loubet formally received him. In submitting his credentials, the new ambassador said, among other things:

“ My sovereign has intrusted to me the task, in charging me with this high mission, of maintaining and still further im-

¹ St. Michael, the traditional guardian and patron of Germany.
—ED.

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proving those good relations now existing in the happiest manner between the two countries. I beg Monsieur le Président to believe me when I say that my most earnest efforts will be directed towards this goal, and that I shall feel a lively satisfaction in fulfilling a task which so entirely accords with my personal sentiments, in making myself the frank and faithful interpreter of the good intentions of my august sovereign."

To this President Loubet replied in a similar vein, assuring the ambassador that "our aims and intentions correspond with those of the Emperor."

In May of the same year two distinguished French officers, General Bonnal and his aide-de-camp, came to Berlin, following an invitation extended to them by the Kaiser during the Russian manœuvres. The Kaiser showed his French guests marked attention. At his invitation they witnessed the brigade drills held annually in memory of his late father, Emperor Frederick, occurring on May 29th. Afterwards the two Frenchmen attended a luncheon given them by the 2d Foot Guards, at their barracks. The Kaiser spoke on this occasion as follows:

"Fill your glasses, gentlemen! I am happy to inform you that peace has been concluded in the far East, and that the troops may be withdrawn. Among the many acknowledgments and thanks which I have received, there is one which the Czar of Russia sent me personally to-day, and which says: 'For services in China I render hearty thanks to your Majesty. Count Waldersee has conducted a difficult and thankless mission with dignity and skill. I testify my fullest sympathy.'

"The brigade has been specially honored to-day in being able to welcome two officers of the French army in its midst. This is the first time, just as it was the first time that French and German troops have fought

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shoulder to shoulder against a common foe, as good and faithful brothers-in-arms and comrades. Gentlemen, these two officers and the army to which they belong—Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!”

Whereupon General Bonnal, in French, and in a very cordial and polite way, thanked the Kaiser for all his courtesies, for being permitted to witness that memorable brigade drill, and for the many pleasant attentions shown him by the German officers. He concluded his remarks by poising his glass in air and shouting, “Gentlemen, I give you the German army and its soldier-emperor—may they both live and prosper!”

Lately, too, several distinguished French persons of both sexes have been guests of the Kaiser and his spouse. On their return they have described in the Paris press their conversations with that monarch, their experiences and observations in Germany. A number of French artists have exhibited with great success in Germany. French opera and theatrical companies have played in Berlin and other German cities, and German companies in Paris. Even Sarah Bernhardt came and played with her company, and the Kaiser treated her with distinction.

After the eruption of Mont Pelée, and the incidental catastrophe in Martinique, last May, there was another interchange of telegrams between the Kaiser and President Loubet, and these were couched in very cordial terms. The Kaiser also sent a large sum for the relief of the Martinique sufferers.

Thus it came about that the visit which President Loubet made in St. Petersburg last year, the loudly proclaimed assurances of friendship between France and Russia, and the subsequent renewal of the Dual Alliance in formal terms, which was made in July, 1902, and simultaneously published, came and went without

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creating any sensation in the political world. Far from being any longer regarded as federations of pronouncedly aggressive tendency, both the Triple and the Dual Alliance are now deemed the chief guarantees for the maintenance of peace and pleasant relations on the continent of Europe. In Germany, where at first the close *entente* and subsequently the formal alliance between France and Russia had been viewed as a condition fraught with menace, the belief has now gained a firm footing that it means, on the contrary, an arrangement admirably preserving the political and military equilibrium, and is, therefore, calculated to subserve Germany's own best interests.

Thus, so far as the Kaiser's official acts and utterances go, there is not the slightest doubt that he has striven honestly, ever since he ascended the throne, to effect a gradual reconciliation with France. And it must be confessed that his ways and methods in this, theatrical as some of them may strike us, have in the main suited their purpose.

It is stated, however, in the entourage of the Kaiser, that his private opinion of the French is far from flattering to Gallic self-love. While still plain Prince William, and with no expectations of attaining to the throne for many years to come, it is said that he once taunted, at a court dinner, the then French ambassador to Berlin, Count Gontaut-Biron, in a semi-jocular manner, with Voltaire's sarcastic characterization of his own countrymen, "half tiger, half monkey." And it is further reported of him that he it was who induced old Field-marshal von Wrangell to play that horrid joke on the same French ambassador—*viz.*, mounting, unknown to the occupants, a new weather-vane on the roof of the embassy building, which bore the shape of one of those dreaded Prussian uhlans, with lance thrust out.

III

THE KAISER AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Clear recognition of the necessity of re-establishing religious harmony in the empire—Interesting letters to Cardinal Hohenlohe—His first interview with the Pope—Patriotic addresses to new German Catholic Church dignitaries—Correspondence with the Roman Pontiff—Second meeting with Leo XIII.—Gift of the Dormition in Palestine to the German Catholics—The Kaiser's mention at Aix-la-Chapelle of a papal utterance regarding himself.

IN his throne speech, on opening the Prussian Diet, twelve days after his accession, the Kaiser, in his capacity as King of Prussia, dwelt with particular emphasis upon his earnest desire to maintain good relations with his Catholic subjects¹ and with the whole Catholic hierarchy—in particular, too, with the Roman Pontiff. He had promised to protect Catholics in the untrammelled exercise of their religious practices. To do this was, indeed, a matter of the utmost concern to him, as the *Culturkampf*—that bitter struggle between the Prussian authority of the state and the Catholic priesthood, from the lowest vicar to the sovereign head of the Church in Rome—had waged fiercely for over a decade, Bismarck having vainly spent even his indomitable energy in trying to score final victory. The state had been utterly vanquished and routed, and as

¹ The Catholic population of Prussia numbers, according to the last official census of 1900, over 12,000,000, out of a total of 34,000,000, therefore slightly exceeding one-third.—ED.

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residuum had been left an embittered sentiment spread throughout the Catholic population of Prussia, and in a minor degree of Bavaria as well. To regain the affection and the full loyalty of his Catholic subjects became, therefore, from his accession, one of the chief and most persistent and unbending efforts of Emperor William, and to this policy of reconciliation he has, indeed, adhered with a steadfastness which in a man of his impulsive nature seems all the more surprising.

Even while still plain Prince William, he had felt the overweening importance of this task of reconquering the love and confidence of his future Catholic subjects, and had taken pains to become personally acquainted with most of the leaders of Catholic thought in Germany. Thus he had come to know not only the parliamentary champions of the Catholic cause—in other words, the spokesmen of the Centre, or Ultramontane, party in Reichstag and Diet, but also the princes of the Church in Germany. With Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe¹ in Rome, a man of undoubted patriotism and head of the Germanophile party at the Vatican, the young prince was on particularly good terms. In January, 1887, seventeen months before Prince William, in quick succession, had seen both his grandfather and father sink into the grave, he wrote a letter to Cardinal Hohenlohe, in which he mentions that he had recently had occasion to meet and gain the friendship of some of the best and shrewdest men belonging to the Catholic clergy in Germany. He speaks of conversations had with them, and then continues:

“There is, above all, Kopp.² What a simple, shrewd, naïvely German nature! I wish with all my

¹ A cousin of that Hohenlohe whom the Kaiser made imperial chancellor in the fall of 1894.—ED.	² This prelate is now Prince Bishop of Breslau and a cardinal. —ED.
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heart that this man may be left us for many years, and that we shall have many like him. The same remark applies to Dr. Thiel, the bishop in East Prussia, and to the Bishop of Metz, who, though speaking French, said to me: 'Je suis et resterai un évêque allemand.' . . . All these are men who have fathomed their time and who have a wide horizon. May they soon gain a paramount influence upon their flocks. But the Centre!—the Centre! If the Pope doesn't soon gird up his tunic and begin to talk in earnest to the Centre, then—"

In another letter, of April 1, 1887, the young prince, then twenty-eight years of age, writes to the same personage:

"Galimberti has pleased everybody here (in Berlin), and what he said, too, has made a good impression. I am immeasurably glad that this baleful Culturkampf is at last over. The other day some of our prominent Catholics, among them Kopp and others, came to me and honored me with their full confidence, which I felt as a real blessing. Several times, too, I was able to act as interpreter of their wishes and to do them some slight favors, thus giving me a chance to employ my insignificant strength and gifts in behalf of restoring peace between the two parts of the population. This gave me veritable joy, and I feel happy. My greetings to Galimberti, and my devotion to the Pope."

The task which William, while still uncrowned, thus began to set himself, was, however, not only dictated by a desire for harmony in Prussia itself, but weighty motives of international policy entered into it. The Roman Curia showed leanings towards the federation

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between Russia and France, then in process of formation, and at that time the special *bête noire* of German state-craft. In lieu of the Papacy's strained relations with Russia, which had subsisted for so many years because of the Polish and other questions, it was very evident that quite amicable relations were slowly being substituted. And instead of longer favoring all or any of the pretenders to the French throne, the Vatican showed growing favor to the republic. If the Pope really should become the third ally, beside France and Russia, it was plain that Germany would have to suffer. For as long as harmonious internal relations with her Catholic population had not been re-established, Germany would have the enemy, so to speak, in her own camp.

The Kaiser, therefore, did not allow the grass to grow under his feet after his accession, but undertook, in October, 1888, a journey to Rome, not alone to visit his ally, King Humbert of Italy, but also the head of the Catholic Church.

He paid all honor to Leo XIII. at the Vatican, and during a long and intimate conversation knew how to impress his Holiness with his earnest wish to re-establish once more close and friendly relations between the temporal and the spiritual power. Subsequent events showed that in so doing he had vitally promoted the object in view.

After a luncheon served at the house of the Prussian minister to the Vatican, Baron von Schlözer, at which Cardinals Rampolla and Prince Hohenlohe participated, the Kaiser drove to the Vatican, accompanied by his brother—Prince Henry—Count Herbert Bismarck, and all the more important members of his large suite. After a long interview with the Pope, at which nobody else was present, Prince Henry, too, was received by the Pontiff in privacy.

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The Centre press in Germany represented this visit as an insult to the Pope, inasmuch as the Kaiser had, immediately after his visit to the Vatican, referred in his toast at the banquet given him by the King at the Quirinal to the latter's "royal capital city." By doing this, it was contended by the Irredentist Centre press, "more papal than the Pope himself," the Kaiser had sanctioned the "land robbery perpetrated by the Savoyan dynasty upon the Pontiff." However, even in the non-Catholic and anti-Catholic circles of Germany, much dissatisfaction was expressed at this friendly meeting between Kaiser and Pope.

On November 7, 1888, the Kaiser published a decree in answer to the address of loyalty by the German Catholic bishops on August 29th. In this and in the separate personal letters of thanks to the archbishop of Cologne and others, he again spoke in a very conciliatory mood. In February, 1889, the newly appointed Bishop Assmann acknowledged publicly in his encyclical his and the Pope's gratification at the newly evinced spirit of good-will shown by the Kaiser and the temporal authorities.

In a letter to Pope Leo XIII., dated March 8, 1890, the Kaiser apprises him of the impending international congress, summoned by the Kaiser, for the amelioration of the working-people's lot, and in flattering terms bespeaks the sympathy and co-operation of his Holiness for the enterprise.

The Pope replied in cordial terms of approval and encouragement, and pleasantly acknowledged the high compliment paid him by the Kaiser's appointment of Cardinal Prince Bishop Kopp, of Breslau, as the imperial delegate to the congress.

The Centre party, too, gradually shaped its policy—for years almost frankly Ultramontane and unpatriotic—to meet altered conditions. The personal

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visit the Kaiser paid to the sick-bed of Windthorst, the Centre's ablest leader, won him many adherents in that party. And on Windthorst's death, soon after, he showed again great consideration. To the funeral, and to the solemn requiem mass in the church of St. Hedwiga, in Berlin, the Kaiser sent special representatives.

In November, 1891, the new archbishop of the Polish provinces in Prussia, Florian Stablevski, was inducted into his see. This dignitary had publicly spoken in a way to convince the Kaiser of his loyalty to the crown, and had been proposed to the Roman Curia for the important post. When Stablevski, on January 12, 1892, personally took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor at the royal castle in Berlin, the Kaiser expressed the utmost confidence in his fairness and the purity of his intentions.¹

On the occasion of Leo XIII.'s fiftieth anniversary as bishop, the Kaiser sent General von Loë, a leading personage in German Catholic circles, as his special legate, handing the Pontiff a costly and artistically embellished mitre as an imperial gift.

But a few weeks later, on April 23d, the Kaiser paid a second visit to the Pope. This time he was accompanied by the Empress, and the meeting was a much more intimate and cordial one than in 1888. This time, too, the Kaiser had a one-hour's conversation after everybody else had gone. The papal Secretary of State, Rampolla, received from the Kaiser the highest Prussian decoration, the order of the Black Eagle.

On September 3, 1893, the Kaiser, during the

¹The preceding archbishop, Cardinal von Ledochowski, had been thrown into jail, during the Culturkampf, and had been summoned, after his final liberation, to Rome, where he played a very important part until his death, in shaping the papal policy and in exerting an anti-German influence in the Cardinals' College.—Ed.

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autumnal army manœuvres, came to Metz, where Bishop Fleck addressed the monarch at some length, saying, among other things: "May your Majesty not judge us by the reports spread in hostile journals, but rather by our actions. Our efforts are directed towards the preservation of a religious spirit and of morality, and against those subversive teachings which threaten society's very existence. . . . Thus we hope to make ourselves useful to the German Empire, according to the measure of our strength, and to find your Majesty's approval."

The Kaiser thereupon replied in a very gratified manner, incidentally mentioning the substance of his last earnest conversation with the Pope—viz., the great need of fostering the religious and devout spirit, and that it had given him sincere joy to see that in this matter, one of greatest moment in this age of unbelief and scepticism, his own views tallied so completely with those of his Holiness.

Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother, was received by the Pope on March 7, 1894. On April 16th following, the Reichstag passed a resolution rescinding the order of expulsion aimed at the Jesuits during the heat of the Culturkampf, and thereby added another item to the re-establishment of religious harmony in the empire. The Bundesrath, however, subsequently rejected this resolution, although Bavaria on her own account greatly modified the stringency of the original order.

At the death of another noted leader of the Centre, von Schorlemer-Alst, on March 18, 1895, the Kaiser sent a carefully phrased telegram of condolence. On May 19, 1897, the Kaiser inspected, in the Rhine country, the famous Benedictine abbey of Maria Laach, which had been restored largely at his own expense. The abbot, Dr. Benzler, in an address rendered thanks.

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The next year, 1898, during the Palestine journey undertaken by the imperial couple, the Kaiser showed a number of attentions to the German Catholics, the Roman Curia, and the Pope.

When he and his consort landed at Haifa, in Palestine, on October 26th, he replied to an address by Father Biever, the director of the German Catholic settlement there, assuring him and German Catholics everywhere of his protection and good-will.

The Sultan of Turkey had made a personal gift to the Kaiser of that piece of land in Jerusalem known to tradition as La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge, and on which, according to a Catholic legend, the Holy Virgin dwelt. This gift, with sufficient funds added from his own purse to erect thereon suitable buildings, the Kaiser, on his arrival in Jerusalem, turned over to the German Catholic Society of the Holy Land. He sent the Pope a telegram informing him of this fact, and the Pope replied in an appreciative vein. He also wired to the same effect to the president of the aforementioned society in Aix-la-Chapelle, Jansen.

A few days later, on October 31, 1898 (after the dedication of the new Protestant Church of the Saviour), the Kaiser personally inaugurated the taking possession of the Dormition by the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, and in the presence of Catholic clergy and a detachment of German marines from the iron-clad cruiser *Hertha*, who hoisted the German and the imperial flags over it.

This whole incident and its attendant circumstances greatly pleased the Catholic population of Germany, and made a vivid and lasting impression on them.

The imperial couple paid, likewise, a visit to the new German Catholic Hospice in Jerusalem, where they were received by its director, Father Schmidt, and

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which was liberally endowed by them. In answering the welcoming speech by the director, the Kaiser also referred to the mission on which he had just then sent his brother Henry, saying: "My brother is now away with the iron-clad power of my ships,¹ whose flag here waves protectingly over your heads, to shield your brethren who, in the far East, are risking their life-blood for their Saviour."

When, on October 23, 1899, the newly elected archbishop of Cologne, Simar, took the solemn oath of allegiance to his temporal sovereign, at Berlin Castle, the Kaiser, in an impressive speech, admonished him to do his share towards educating the growing generation in his archdiocese to be good subjects as well as Christians.

On Pope Leo's ninetieth birthday—March 2, 1900—there was another pleasant interchange of despatches between Kaiser and Pope.

The German Catholic mission in China has enjoyed the consistent protection and encouragement of the Kaiser. Its chief, Bishop Anzer, on the several occasions of his visits to Berlin, was the guest of the monarch and his trusted counsellor in Chinese affairs.

Shortly after the Kaiser's second visit to the abbey of Maria Laach, its abbot, Benzler, became bishop of Metz, and on October 24, 1901, he swore allegiance to the Kaiser, the latter responding by according the bishop high praise for his patriotism and expressing entire confidence in him. He dwelt at some length upon the fact that the bishop was going to a field of activity where those qualities which he had learned to admire in him would be of particular importance, and that he, the Kaiser, was very glad that his own choice for in-

¹ In China.—Ed.

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cumbent of this see had at last been approved and confirmed by Rome.¹

On December 3, 1901, the Kaiser received the oath of allegiance of the new titular bishop of Strassburg, Zorn von Bulach, belonging to one of the most distinguished and ancient noble families of Alsace. In replying to the new church dignitary's address, the Kaiser said:

"Those assurances of loyalty, and those wishes for the welfare of my house, as well as your past in the service of state and church, permit me to indulge the hope that you will regard it as your duty to foster harmony in the diocese of Strassburg, so far as in you lies, and to strengthen the spirit of respect for me and the love of the German fatherland. In doing so you will follow the example of your ancestors, who in the time of the old empire held faithfully to emperor and country in good and evil days."

When, on May 22, 1902, the Kaiser, during a brief sojourn in Metz, visited the cathedral there, Bishop Benzler addressed him at some length. He thanked him for liberal gifts, and for promoting the restoration of this ancient pile, one of the finest types of early Gothic, and asked for God's blessing upon the head of the monarch. The Kaiser replied pleasantly.

In Aix-la-Chapelle, which venerable town the Kaiser visited on June 19, 1902, he inspected the cathedral, likewise renovated and restored largely through his efforts. The prelate, Dr. Bellerheim, rendered public

¹ The filling of the vacant bishoprics of Metz and Strassburg had, after the death of the former incumbents, been matter of bitter contention for several years between the Kaiser and the Roman Curia. In the latter, under the influence of the Francophile party, with Cardinal Rampolla at its head, the Kaiser's candidates had at first been rejected.—ED.

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thanks to the Emperor, and pointed out the incessant activity of the sovereign in aiding and encouraging the preservation of Catholic houses of worship, and in fostering among the whole population the spirit of reverence for and of devotion to Christian observances and practices.

The Kaiser, in his answer, expressed his joy at having been able to take up the aims of his father and grandfather in restoring and finishing work on a church which had been built, in its earliest portions, by Charlemagne. Then he concluded:

“Through the centuries a trait distinguishes the man of Germanic blood—his love and admiration for nature, a sentiment implanted by the Creator as one of our most cherished heirlooms. This sentiment Germans have extended towards their houses of worship, and the architectural type thus evolved is something which no German can do without. For the sovereign it becomes a sacred duty to protect this sentiment. . . .”

On the same day Emperor William delivered a speech, in reply to welcoming words from Chief Mayor Veltmann, which created some sensation, especially in Catholic circles at home and abroad. The most vital passages in it were the following:

“ . . . Aix-la-Chapelle is the cradle of German imperialism. Here the great Charles placed his imperial chair, and this ancient town received a portion of his reflected glory. But imposing and great as was the figure of this powerful Germanic ruler, it received new splendor by being offered from Rome the dignity of the old Roman Cæsars. He it was who inherited the *imperium romanum*. Surely this was a magnificent acknowledgment of the capacities inherent in the Ger-

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manic race, only recently arisen in history. For the sceptre had been wrested from the hands of the Cæsars and their successors, and the Roman *imperium* shook, rotten to the core. It was the appearance of the gladsomely victorious Teutons, with their moral intactness, which pointed new paths to the world's history, the paths in which it is still treading. . . .

"But what had been possible to the mighty personality of Charlemagne, proved in the long run impossible for those who came after him. Keeping their eyes too much on the world-empire, succeeding dynasties of German emperors lost sight of the needs of their own German land and people. They and their hosts went south to maintain the world-empire, and forgot their own Germany. . . .

"But now another empire has grown up. The German people have again their Kaiser. They have chosen him, sword in hand, on the battle-field, and there, too, they have found the imperial crown. The imperial banner again waves high in the air. . . . But the aims and purposes of the new empire are different ones. Satisfied with our new frontiers, we prepare ourselves at home for those great tasks which now devolve on us, and which during the Middle Ages we were unable to fulfil. And thus we see that the new empire, though young, gains internal strength year after year, while confidence in it is felt everywhere more and more strongly. And the mighty German army vouchsafes peace to Europe. This is in accord with Germanic character. We limit ourselves so far as outward power is concerned, in order to have unlimited power at home, within our own frontiers. Far away our language exerts influence across the seas. Far, too, fly German science and research, and there is no work done in any sphere of modern research which we may not read, too, in our tongue, and no thought springs from science

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which we, first of all, do not utilize and fructify, in order that other nations may adopt it subsequently. This is the world-empire which the German mind aspires to.

“But if we wish to fulfil wholly the great tasks come to us, we must not forget that the primal soil on which this empire has arisen has its root in the simplicity, the God-fearing piety, and the high moral conceptions of our ancestors. God’s hand lay heavy upon our country at the commencement of the last century, and the arm of Providence has mightily wrought the iron in the furnace of misery until the weapon was ready for use. And, therefore, I expect from you all, whether clergy or laymen, to preserve religion within the people. Jointly we must toil to keep intact for the Germanic race its healthy strength, its moral foundations. And that may only be done by maintaining religion, a remark which applies to both forms of worship.¹ The greater, therefore, is my joy in communicating news to the gentlemen of the Church I see here present, news which I am proud to be able to tell you. Right here, gentlemen, stands General von Loë, a faithful servant of his King. I sent him to Rome, to bear my gifts and congratulations to the Holy Father, and when he, in confidential conversation, gave information to the Pontiff as to the state of affairs in our German lands, the Holy Father answered him, saying he was glad to testify to the fact that he had always thought highly of the piety of the Germans, especially of the German army. And, he added, he could say more than that, and he commissioned him to tell me that the one land in Europe where order and discipline ruled, where respect for the authorities, devotion to the Church, prevailed, and where every Catholic was free to live

¹ The Kaiser here refers, of course, to the Protestant and Catholic faiths.—ED.

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according to the tenets of his faith, was the German Empire, and for that he had to thank the German Emperor.

“That, gentlemen, gives me the right to say that our two faiths, Catholic and Protestant, must keep the one common aim in view: to fortify and foster the fear of God and the veneration for religion. . . . Whoever does not put his life on the broad rock of religion is lost. . . .”

The speech, recent as it was, must be taken as a sort of programme which the Kaiser means to follow more or less consistently, and it cannot be interpreted any other way than revealing a species of pact and general understanding concluded between him and the Pope, so far, at least, as the difference in creed allows that. That, however, the Kaiser, while holding such strict views as to religion and its profession, is not narrow-minded, must be gathered from the fact that he has several times during the past year sought the conversation and the teachings of Professor Delitzsch, the most noted German Assyriologist and the most dreaded opponent of the dogma of the divine origin of the Old Testament. In doing which, it is interesting to note, he has found the outspoken disapprobation not only of the Catholic clergy and the orthodox wing of German Protestant theology, but even of the Jewish rabbis all over the empire.

IV

THE KAISER AND THE LABORING CLASSES

Pro-labor promises on his accession—Legislation in favor of ameliorating the condition of the German working-classes—The Kaiser as mediator during a great coal strike—German anti-accident exhibition—Congress at Berlin convened by the Kaiser to devise means for the betterment of the laborer's lot—Imperial warnings against socialistic influences—His harsh description of the German socialists—Why the Kaiser lost interest in further pro-labor legislation.

ONE of the chief items in the Kaiser's outlined policy at the beginning of his reign was the amelioration of the lot of the laboring classes in the empire. In Germany more than elsewhere there was, and is, room for improvement in this respect, for toil means for the masses longer hours and scantier pay than in either England or the United States, poorer fare and harder taxation, the crushing burden of compulsory military service, and a decidedly lower estimation in the public eye, and harsher treatment as well on the part of the higher classes and of the government than obtain in the two countries named. It may be presumed that the Kaiser had a conception of these facts, and that at the outset of his career as a ruler he had firmly made up his mind to do what lay in his power to bring about betterment for the perspiring, hard-driven millions of German working-men. The subjoined passage in the speech from the throne, delivered on the opening of the Reichstag, October 22, 1888, but four months after he attained to the throne, bears this out:

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"As a cherished legacy from my grandfather, now resting in God, the task has descended to me to continue the socio-political legislation inaugurated by him. I do not indulge the fallacy that the stress of the period and human misery are to be obliterated by legislative measures. But yet I deem it one of the duties and prerogatives of the state to aim at the relief of existing economic distress, and to enforce acknowledgment of the duty of neighborly love, grown out of the soil of Christianity, by organic state institutions. This duty, indeed, must be assumed by the whole state organism. The difficulties interposing themselves between a realization of plans looking to insurance of all working-people against the burdens of old age and inability to work, and made compulsory by the authority of government, are great, but, I trust, with God's help, not insurmountable. As the fruit of extensive preliminary labors in behalf of this project, a bill will be presented to you which proposes a practicable way towards the attainment of this end."

On November 16, 1888, the Kaiser received delegations in Breslau of the Protestant and Catholic labor societies, and made answer to their address:

". . . The working-man's welfare lies close to my heart. . . . Breslau's laboring classes have been the first to recognize that and to give expression to their loyalty to me and my house. I feel convinced that they will in the future likewise show their faith in me on all occasions. I hope and desire that the example given by the working-men of Silesia's capital will be imitated by the laboring population in every part of the monarchy, and that they all will stand by my house in similar unanimity. . . ."

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On April 30, 1889, the German General Exposition for the Prevention of Accidents was inaugurated in Berlin, under the protectorate of the Kaiser. At its opening the Kaiser spoke as follows:

"With joy I welcome this evidence of efforts to secure to the industrial toiler a greater measure of safety from the dangers incidental to his calling, and which have increased of late, to improve the economic conditions of the laboring classes by organic measures, and to lend expression in our public and legal institutions to the thought of practical love for our neighbor.

"The generations living and to come will never forget that it was the merit of my grandfather, now resting in God, to have brought it home to general consciousness how important are these endeavors for the common welfare.

"With a conviction of their urgency and justice, I have approached those social problems, the solution of which still awaits us. In this I count upon the intelligent co-operation of all classes of the population, but more especially upon that of the working-men, whose welfare is at stake in these matters, and that of the employers, who in their own interest are ready and willing to make the sacrifices resulting therefrom.

"This exposition, too, is a fruit of these endeavors. It demonstrates how far until the present the provisions of the law have taken visible shape in practical life. The pains taken to bring about this exposition and the law I referred to will, I trust to God, not remain without a blessing. To all those who have aided us in this task I render thanks and acknowledgment. May the exposition help us to bring home to all interested what may be done to protect the working-man and to promote his interests."

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A few days later a general strike of all the miners broke out in the coal-mining districts of the Ruhr, in Westphalia. This strike threatened to paralyze traffic and industry, especially as the miners in all the other Prussian coal-mines prepared to join in the strike. To adjust and, if possible, terminate the quarrel between employers and employés, the Kaiser received a delegation from each party, one after the other. On May 14, 1889, he made answer to the delegation from the miners as follows:

“Every subject, if he has to prefer a wish or ask a favor, has, as a matter of course, the ear of the Emperor. This I have shown by permitting the delegation to come here and to present their desires in person. You have, however, done wrong, for your movement is an unlawful one, if for no other reason at least because you have not given a fortnight’s notice, only at the expiration of which you would have been entitled by law to stop work. You are, therefore, guilty of a breach of contract. It needs no pointing out that this breach of contract has injured and excited the employers. Again, workmen who did not want to strike have been prevented, forcibly or by threats, to continue work. Furthermore, some strikers have used violence in meeting the authorities, and have destroyed private property, while others have even gone so far as, in some cases, to resist forcibly the military which had been summoned to protect property. Finally, you declare that you will resume work only when all your demands have been accepted in all mines affected. As regards your demands, I shall have these thoroughly examined by my government, and shall let you know in time the result through the official channels. But if riots or other derelictions against public order and peace should occur, and if this movement of yours

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should be found to be instigated by social-democratic agitation, then in that case I would not be able to consider your wishes with my royal good-will. For to me every Social Democrat is nothing better than the enemy of the empire and of his country. If I should notice, therefore, that social-democratic tendencies are mingling with this movement, and spur you on to unlawful resistance, I should intervene with the utmost severity, and I should use the full power in my hands—and it is, as you know, an extensive one—in meeting force with force. Now return home. Consider well what I have told you, and try to influence your comrades, so that they will return to reason and order. Above all, you must not prevent, under any circumstances, those of your comrades who wish to work from resuming work.”

And to the delegation sent by the coal-mine owners and operators in the Ruhr district, he said, two days later, after listening to their complaints:

“Gentlemen, I have granted you this audience, because it is the bounden duty of the monarch, in cases where his subjects have fallen to quarrelling and need a mediator, that he should hear both parties, provided they have come to him with confidence. I have heard the working-men, and I am glad to see you here to-day. As to the cause of the differences and the means to end them, I am still waiting for detailed reports from my officials. My main object is, now that a second strike in Silesia, transplanted there from Westphalia, is on the point of breaking out, and in view of the far-reaching injury done by the strike to the nation as a whole, to put an end to this strike. You know what I told the miners. In my words to them I have sharply defined my view-point. These miners, though, made a

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good impression on me. They have avoided contact with the Social Democrats. That my words to them have found appreciation in laboring circles in Westphalia is proven to me by telegrams I have received from there. It has gratified me that they have rejected attempts on the part of the Social Democrats to interfere. The negotiations which you, Herr Hammacher, as chairman of your organization, have conducted with the miners' delegation, I have had reported to me by the Minister of the Interior, and I must express to you my appreciation of the good-will shown by you in meeting the views of the working-men. Thus you have secured a basis for final understanding. I shall, indeed, rejoice if employers and employes should find an adjustment on this basis. From my own viewpoint I will, however, emphasize another thing: if you, gentlemen, hold the opinion that the miners' delegation I have heard do not represent the dominating circles among the strikers, I will say that that does not matter. Even if they should have but a portion of the working-men behind them, and expressed only the views held in their own ranks, the moral effect of an attempt at reconciliation would nevertheless be great. But if they have, indeed, been the delegates of the miners and have represented the views held by the whole mass of Westphalian miners, and if they are satisfied with the terms you have offered them, I have sufficient confidence in their common-sense and patriotism to believe that they will make the attempt, and probably with success, to induce their comrades to return to work.

“And right here I should like to say to all those concerned that it will be very useful in future if the mine-owners and their officials will try and keep in close touch with the miners, so that a similar movement does not escape them again. This strike certainly did

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not come suddenly, not without preparation. . . . I would like to ask you to take care that the miners have always an opportunity to formulate their wishes, and always to keep this present in your minds, that those companies or single owners of mines and other large concerns who employ a considerable portion of my subjects thereby assume the duty towards the state and towards the communities in which they live to take care of the welfare of their toilers to the best of their ability, and, above all, to avoid such a condition of affairs again, by which the inhabitants of a whole province are involved in difficulties.

"You must remember that, humanely speaking, it is but natural that everybody tries to improve his condition and his earnings. The working-men read newspapers, and they know the proportion of their wages to the revenues of the companies. That they wish to have their proper share in the total earnings of each concern is not to be wondered at. I would like to ask you, gentlemen, to examine in each case the condition of their affairs with the most minute and conscientious care, and thus to prevent for the future such a calamity as the present one. I would most earnestly recommend to you, gentlemen, to try and bring to a successful and mutually satisfactory issue the negotiations which your chairman began yesterday. I regard it as my royal duty to vouchsafe to both employers and employés my assistance in settling such difficulties as this one, in proportion as they and each of them are earnestly anxious to promote the interests of their fellow-citizens by fostering harmony among themselves and by avoiding such industrial shocks as these."

The working-men of Germany, on their part, some time after the above events, testified to their gratitude for the Kaiser's efforts in their behalf by a demonstra-

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tion on December 8th of the same year. The Kaiser visited the ancient city of Worms, in the Rhine country, and a delegation of the local working-men handed him an address and a wreath. The Kaiser said to them:

“I gladly accept this address and wreath as tokens of your affection and devotion. I am aware that the working - men of Worms have always distinguished themselves by their patriotism and fidelity. I trust that they will continue to withstand the temptations and approaches made to them, and that they will steadfastly adhere to their loyal sentiments.”

In the succeeding year, 1890, a number of more than usually important measures, inaugurated at the instance and with the co-operation of the Kaiser, and intended for the improvement of the lot of the German laboring classes, became public. As a preliminary step the *Reichsanzeiger* published, on February 8th, the subjoined decree:

“TO THE IMPERIAL CHANCELLOR

“I am resolved to assist, so far as the limitations drawn by the necessity of keeping German industry in condition to compete with the world's markets permit me, in meliorating the condition of the German working-man. Serious losses, of course, of our home industries by reason of a decrease in our exports would not only injure the employers, but would also deprive their employés of the means of existence. The difficulties created by international competition when trying to improve the condition of our laboring classes can only be partially overcome by international agreement among those countries most interested in the world's markets. In the conviction, therefore, that other

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governments as well are animated by the desire to examine jointly those efforts made even now by the laboring classes of these different countries, I direct that my representatives in France, England, Belgium, and Switzerland make official inquiry whether these governments are inclined to associate themselves with us for the purpose of an international agreement as to the possibility of meeting those desires and requirements of the laboring classes which have been enunciated by them on the occasion of strikes during the last few years. As soon as adhesion, in principle, to my proposal shall have been made, I shall instruct you to invite the cabinets of all those governments taking a common interest in the labor question to a conference as to the main points entering into this question.

“WILLIAM.”

In simultaneously published decrees to the Prussian Ministers of Commerce and Industry and of Public Works, the Kaiser defined the chief objects he had in view in such a conference. He said that it was the task of the state to regulate the time, duration, and manner of labor in such a way as to subserve the preservation of health, the dictates of morality, the economic requirements of the laboring classes, and of their claims to common legal rights and protection; also to frame laws looking to the maintenance of peaceful relations between employer and employé, by providing for adequate representation of the laborers in the regulation of joint matters of interest in dealing with their employers and with the organs of government. By the latter institution the laborer was to be given a regular opportunity to express his needs and complaints, and the state authorities would thereby remain in constant touch with the working-classes. The mines belonging to the Prussian fiscus

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he wanted to be made model enterprises, subject to similar restrictions as those imposed on the Prussian factories by the law of 1869.

He also summoned the Prussian council of state to deliberate, under his, the Kaiser's, own presidency, and with the assistance of technical experts, on the preliminaries.

On February 14, 1890, but a few days after, the council of state did convene at the royal castle in Berlin. The Kaiser opened this special session with an address, in which he said:

" . . . The task for the solution of which I have bidden you here, demands your best efforts and your ripest judgment. The protection to be vouchsafed the working-man against an unlimited and arbitrary exploitation of his strength for labor; the amount of restricting child-labor in conformity with the behests of humanity and of the natural laws of increase; the attention to be paid to the status of wives, in social, moral, and economic regards, in the household of working-men, so incalculably important in the family life of the nation; and a number of therewith connecting conditions obtaining in our laboring classes—all these matters are susceptible of improved regulation. In considering these problems, however, great care must be taken to ascertain, with the aid of technical expert opinion, just in how far our industry will be able to bear such greater cost of production as will be necessitated by the enjoinder of stricter provisions in favor of the laborer, without endangering, while competing with the world's markets, the remunerative occupation of the laborer himself. By going beyond proper limits, injury, instead of benefit, to the economic conditions of our laboring classes would be wrought. . . . The happy solution of these questions, dominant in our era, is closely

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connected as well with the international agreement projected by me."

After summing up once more, substantially as outlined in the aforementioned decree to his Ministers of Commerce and Public Works, the main desiderata in his mind, the Kaiser says that he is quite aware that all these efforts by the state in behalf of the toiling masses will not be able to remove from their serried ranks a certain amount of penury, hardship, and distress, and that, as hitherto, Christian charity and benevolence, and the beneficent aid of school and church, cannot be dispensed with. The speech winds up with detailed instructions to the council of state and to the various committees regarding the share of labor devolving on each.

A few days later the Kaiser said to Herr von Eynern, a leading parliamentarian in those days:

"Whether gratitude or ingratitude will be our portion in trying to improve the condition of our laboring classes, at all events I am resolved to persevere in my efforts. I cherish the conviction that this care and protection by the state must end in reconciling the laboring classes with their position within our social fabric. And, anyhow, these endeavors will procure me a quiet conscience."

Cardinal Manning, of England, considered in those days an authority in practical social politics, wrote at about this time to a friend:

"... You want my opinion about the conference on the labor question, and on the condition of those millions living in each country of Europe off their earnings as wage-workers, which the German Emperor is about to convene. I hold this imperial act the wisest and most dignified emanating from a sovereign

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of our time. The condition in which the wage-workers of all the European countries find themselves is a grave danger to every European government. The long hours of toil, woman and child labor, insufficient earnings, aggravated by insecurity of employment, keen competition nursed by modern economy, and the destruction of family life due to these and other causes, have about rendered it impossible for them to lead a life worthy of a human being. How can a man working fifteen to sixteen hours every day be a father to his children? How can a woman who is away from home the whole day fulfil the duties of a mother? Domestic life is thus made an impossibility. And yet it is upon family life that the whole fabric of human society rests. If the foundation be injured, what is to become of the structure? Kaiser William, therefore, has proved a true and far-sighted statesman."

One of the technical experts summoned by the Kaiser to assist the council of state by their knowledge and advice, a master locksmith from Magdeburg, named Deppe, subsequently published his impressions. The extracts of special interest taken from his statement are these:

"For three days, from 10 A.M. until 6.30 P.M., I was present at these sessions, with the Kaiser presiding. The Kaiser was the most indefatigable chairman. He opened the sessions, adjourned and closed them, gave permission to speak or spoke himself, and several times wound a speaker up short, if the latter drifted off to alien topics. First and last in his seat, he followed the deliberations with closest attention. But during the luncheon intermission, during which the Minister of the Interior made us his guests, in a perfectly informal way and at a row of tables, wherever one felt like sitting down, this duty-engrossed monarch became the most approachable one. Why, one forgot that he was the German Emperor, seeing him mingle and talking freely and unaffectedly with every one that happened to be near him, now inquiring and again imparting information, or discussing, on a footing of perfect equality, various points that had come up."

This special session of the council of state was closed on February 28, 1890, and the Kaiser took leave of the members in this way:

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"Gentlemen, I trust you will oppose the view, which somehow has obtained a foothold among the public, that we have met here to discover a panacea for the cure of all the social ills and defects. We have earnestly striven to find remedies for some evils, and to determine the limits beyond which we may not go in devising measures for the protection of labor. I hope that some good will spring from your counsels."

On March 15th, a fortnight later, the international congress for the protection of labor was solemnly opened in the palace of the Imperial Chancellor. The Prussian Minister for Commerce, von Berlepsch, welcomed the delegates in the name of the Kaiser.

In his speech from the throne, on May 6th following, the Kaiser said to the Reichstag, among other things:

"... The strikes which broke out in various parts of the empire in the course of the past year induced me to examine closely the question whether existing legislation sufficiently meets those just and reasonable demands on the part of labor which seem realizable in the present state of our political order. Above all, whether compulsory Sunday rest, and that limitation of child and woman labor which reasons of humanity and the natural laws of increase seem to call for, cannot be enforced. The allied governments have become convinced that the propositions in this respect emanating from the last session of the Reichstag may become law without infringement of other legitimate interests. But we have found that a number of additional existing provisions require amendment and improvement. This is especially the case with the laws bearing on the safety of labor from dangers to life, health, and morality, and those regulating the hours of labor. . . . A bill will reach

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you shortly which contains modifications of the present labor laws, in consonance with the views elucidated.

"Another bill aims at the better regulation of labor-arbitration courts, and at their reorganization in such a way as to enable us to call upon them in cases of differences of opinion between employer and employé as to the conditions of continuing or resuming work, and to act as peace-makers between the parties.

"I have full confidence in your willingness to co-operate in these matters. . . . The more our laboring classes come to recognize the conscientious earnestness with which the empire seeks to meliorate their lot, the more, too, they will become aware of the dangers springing out of attempts to realize unmeasured and unrealizable demands. In just and adequate protection to the laboring classes I see the most effective method of strengthening those forces whose province it is to oppose with unbending energy all attempts to shake by violence the existing order of things.

". . . Our industry forms but a link in the chain of economic toil done by those nations that principally participate in competition upon the world's markets. . . . The results of the international congress which met here fill me with special gratification. Its resolutions form the expression of common views upon the most important domain of the civilizing mission of our time. The principles embodied in them will, I do not doubt, act as a seed which, with God's help, will sprout and bear blessings for the benefit of all other countries, besides bringing forth fruit in harmonizing the relations of the various nations with one another."

To a delegation, seven hundred strong, of workmen and mechanics employed in the Krupp works in Essen, the Kaiser made a speech on the occasion of a visit he

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paid that giant establishment on June 20, 1890. He paid a tribute to the enterprise of the firm, and thanked the delegation for having "remained on the right road," meaning thereby their avoidance of socialistic agitation and methods.

At a banquet on September 13, 1890, given at the royal castle in Breslau, the Kaiser said:

"... With great joy I have noticed that it is again this province¹ which, first of all, has been trying to realize my aims regarding the increased welfare of the laboring classes. In praiseworthy manner Church and laymen join hands here to raise the standard of living among the lower classes. Men like Prince Pless and the Cardinal Bishop² furnish a good example, and that example has not remained without its due effect. . . .

"Here let me say that I hope our citizens will at last rouse themselves from their long slumber, and to leave warfare against the destructive elements of our population no longer exclusively to the state and its organs, but to take a hand in the fight themselves. I am convinced that if this province persists in its present methods it will succeed in restoring, not only within its own confines but within the whole country, reverence for the Church, respect for the law, and unquestioning obedience towards the crown and monarch."

In the speech from the throne by the Kaiser, on December 8, 1894, at the opening of another Reichstag session, he spoke in general terms of the government's duty of protecting the weaker classes of society, and to aid them in attaining to more comfortable circumstances in life. "The duty to make for this goal with all possible energy becomes the more binding," he said,

¹ Of Silesia.—ED.

² Kopp.—ED.

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"the more strenuous and difficult becomes the struggle for existence with each single element in the nation."

Next he touched with emphatic words on the supposed necessity for "opposing more effectively the virulent machinations of those who would hinder the power of the state in the fulfilment of its duties. Experience has shown that existing legislation does not lend itself sufficiently to the purpose." He announced, therefore, the preparation of a bill intended to check further Socialist advance, for this he hinted at with his words quoted above. This bill, though, and several subsequent bills introduced both in the Reichstag and in the Diet, and all aiming, in one shape or another, at the curtailment of Socialist power in politics and social life, failed to pass.

There came a day, in 1898, when the Kaiser, embittered beyond reason and stirred to the depth of his nature, spoke in another speech from the throne of the Socialist party in Germany, whose voting strength had meanwhile grown to far over two millions, and had come to comprise at least one-fourth of the whole nation, as "a horde of men unworthy to bear the name of Germans."

On August 3, 1900, the Kaiser distributed, while on a visit to Bremerhaven, whither he had gone to bid God-speed to a departing vessel bearing a contingent of German troops to the punitive expedition in China, some fifteen medals of honor to 'longshoremen and mechanics of the North German Lloyd and of the Hamburg-American lines. He accompanied this act with words of praise for these men who, he said, had remained loyally at their post, and with burning words of indignation directed against those of their comrades in Hamburg, whom he stigmatized as "having been inveigled by traitorous agitators" and who had taken

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advantage of the rush and pressure to demand higher wages. "Base is he who leaves his fatherland in the lurch in moments of danger," he exclaimed on this occasion.

It will have been observed that the Kaiser's enthusiasm in behalf of the improvement of the German laboring-man's hard lot was rather short-lived. Altogether it lasted but two years. Then its fire was spent. After 1890 the investigator searches in vain among his public or private enunciations for expressions of good-will towards the laboring classes and of plans to confer further benefits upon them in the shape of "labor-friendly" legislation. On the contrary, there are a number of his speeches, made since 1890, in evidence in which he uses rather harsh terms as applied to these very classes. The honorary title of *Roi Gueux* (King of the Poor), which Jules Simon affixed to his name in one of his articles, will fit William II. no longer. The two men who were, during the first years of his reign, his favorite instruments and inspirers of his policy of weening away Germany's toiling masses from the Socialist banner by offering them a greater measure of comforts—viz., the then Prussian Minister of Commerce, von Berlepsch, and the under-secretary in the Imperial Department of the Interior, von Rottenburg,¹ were both retired by him long ago. All pro-labor legislation has been shelved since 1890, though it has been demonstrated again and again in the Reichstag that the existing labor laws and the laws providing for old age and invalid pensions for the working classes by no means sufficiently fulfil their mission.

¹ Berlepsch was curtly dismissed, though he still privately labors in behalf of his ideals; Rottenburg (who is married, by-the-way, to a daughter of the late American ambassador, W. W. Phelps) was given the quiet though honorary post as curator of the University of Bonn, which he still holds.—ED.

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The cause of all this, especially the cause of the Kaiser's so completely losing interest in all measures designed to benefit the laboring classes as such, may doubtless be found, wholly or in part, in the fact that the Kaiser's youthful dreams of killing socialism by kindness were destined to failure, just as Bismarck had predicted when the young monarch had outlined to him his programme of state benefits and moral suasion. It is matter of contemporaneous history that the German Socialist party, instead of dwindling and melting away under the kindly rays of the imperial sun, grew steadily and enormously in numbers during the fifteen years of the present Kaiser's reign, becoming numerically by far the largest in the empire, and exerting an amount of influence upon broad strata of the population which was never equalled before. It is expected that this coming summer, when the delegates to another quinquennial session of the Reichstag will be elected by general franchise, the number of Socialist voters will show, despite all the methods of government repression and manipulation, another considerable increase.

V

THE KAISER AND ALSACE-LORRAINE

Promoting the spirit of loyalty in the annexed provinces—The beneficial influence of his frequent visits there—Speeches to delegations—His château near Courcelles, and his neighborly relations with the people.

THE influence which the Kaiser has exerted on the population of Alsace and Lorraine, winning them over to the German side and away from their old-time predilections for France, forms, no doubt, one of the most striking illustrations of his abilities as a ruler and statesman, and one of the most flattering evidences of his personal magnetism.

In the beginning of his reign the bulk of the inhabitants of the two annexed provinces, and the older generation almost to a man, were, to use a term which hardly expresses the facts, disaffected. The evidence of that was palpable. It cropped out in the Reichstag, where the delegates from these provinces at regular intervals "protested" against the actual state of things, and took no pains to conceal their French sympathies. It appeared continually in the press of Alsace and Lorraine, where, despite the strict censorship, allegiance to France was preached in veiled terms. It came out in ceaseless complaints to the new German authorities, and in frequent letters to the Paris press. And it was asserted on the French side and reluctantly admitted on the part of German visitors and investigators.

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With the advent of the Kaiser in the Reichslande, however, conditions rapidly changed. The Kaiser skilfully employed every means to win the confidence and respect of the people of these provinces, politically rather conservative and fond of military dash and pageant, and next their affection. His most effective measures were probably these: he purchased a large estate near Courcelles, Lorraine, enlarged and beautified it, and then made a point of residing there with his family every summer, for a shorter or longer term, entertaining all the while pleasant and neighborly relations with the rural population in the vicinity; he encouraged in various ways the industries and the agriculture of the provinces, bringing them to a higher degree of material prosperity than they ever enjoyed during the two centuries of French rule; he "spoke them fair," and treated their spokesmen and representatives on all occasions with indulgence and sympathy; lastly, he made frequent visits and gave the people several times a spectacle they traditionally crave—*i. e.*, splendid military parades and manœuvres on a large scale.

In the foregoing part of this book repeated reference has been made to events in Alsace-Lorraine during the Kaiser's reign. Some additional speeches, etc., by the Kaiser will, however, further bear out what is here claimed.

After several preliminary trips undertaken by the Kaiser to these provinces, he received, on March 14, 1891, a delegation from the joint provincial chamber of deputies, who asked him to abolish the onerous and rigid regulations as to communication and traffic beyond the frontier, regulations which took the form of compulsory passports. In his reply the Kaiser, in a pleasant and conciliatory manner, thanked the delegation for their assurances of loyalty and for the con-

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fidence shown in him, expressing a hope that these sentiments would become general. Then he remarked:

“It is, indeed, painful to me, I assure you, to have to deny you this wish at present. I must confine myself for the moment to say that it looks as if in the near future I might be able to do what you ask, and to establish easier and less formal modes of communication on our western frontier. This hope will be realized all the sooner the more the people of Alsace-Lorraine become convinced of the indissolubility of the bonds uniting them with Germany, and the more energetically they demonstrate the resolve to remain under all circumstances faithful and true to me and to the empire.”

On the occasion of another imperial visit to the provinces, in the autumn of 1893, the Kaiser made a brief stay in Metz, where he was welcomed enthusiastically by the mayor, Halm, and by the population. In his verbal address he said, among other things:

“Metz and the army corps here are one of the corner pillars of Germany’s military power, a power which I am firmly resolved to use in maintaining peace—peace with the whole of Europe.

“Heartily I thank the city of Metz for the brilliant reception accorded me, and I beg that this may be made known to the inhabitants by official placards. My headquarters are, as you know, in Urville,¹ and that, I am glad to say, makes me also a Lorrainer, a man who owns landed property here and lives among you in neighborly fashion. As a token of my appreciation and confidence, I hand you, Mr. Mayor, herewith a golden neck-chain and locket, denoting your

¹ Urville, the name of the Kaiser’s estate near Courcelles.—Ed.

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important office, which the mayors of Metz may wear on festive occasions hereafter. . . . ”

Next day, during the banquet given the Kaiser at the officers' casino in Metz, the Kaiser toasted his hosts as follows:

“My toast to-day is for the Reichslande, and more especially for Lorraine. My warmest and most cordial thanks to the people of Lorraine for the truly friendly manner in which they have received me. Thunderous acclaim, jubilant faces greeted me here, and that, I am free to say, has gratified me immensely. I consider these ovations, this gladsome mood not alone of the people of Metz but also of the rural population, a proof that Lorraine feels satisfied with being a part of the empire. Before the eyes of the inhabitants here a picture of German greatness, of German unity, is unfolded.¹ You have the chief of the empire with you, and with him, united in sincere friendship and in strong compact, his relatives, cousins, sovereigns of German states. With lasting pleasure I see that Lorraine has gained an adequate conception of the greatness of the empire, and of its own high position within the empire. ‘We Lorrainers are loyal, conservative through and through, and strive to do our work in peace, to cultivate our fields, and to enjoy, without let or hinderance, the fruits of our labor,’ were the words that greeted me at my reception in Courcelles.

“Well, gentlemen, to enable you to do this, and to furnish you a proof that I am honestly anxious to study your wishes, I have made a home among you,

¹ This has reference to the fact that on this occasion the big autumn army manœuvres took place in the province, the Kaiser being accompanied by a number of smaller German sovereigns, among them being the kings of Württemberg and of Saxony.—ED.

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and I feel happy with my neighbors in Urville. Take this as evidence that you may undisturbedly pursue your callings, and go your ways without interference. United Germany safeguards your peace, and German you are now and will remain, with God's help and that of our trusty German sword."

On September 9th, but a few days later, the Kaiser entered Strassburg in state, and was received by Mayor Back and a numerous civic delegation. He thanked them likewise for the warm reception given, and then continued:

"If I were to consult alone my affection and admiration for your beautiful city, my stay here would be a longer one. How often, when still a youngster have I sung that old German ballad:

"O Strassburg, O Strassburg, thou wondrously fair town!"

and prayed to God that He would render back to Germany this wondrously fair town, for which I always have felt a strong sympathy.

"This desire, I am happy to say, has since been realized, although it was not granted to me to help in bringing it about. I esteem Strassburg one of the best of our German cities, and I feel convinced that the Strassburgers, too, are glad of their reincorporation with the German Empire. I felt that very plainly the last time I arrived here, quite unexpectedly. As I then rode back from the Polygon, and found the streets so beautifully decorated within the short time at the citizens' disposal, and heard the shouts of welcome, I felt sincerely glad. Even if I cannot stay here longer this time, I hope to be able to return frequently, and to let you know in advance when I am

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coming. I like to be among you, and that is why I now have a shooting lodge near by. That will bring me here quite often, you may be sure. . . ."

On May 9, 1898, the Kaiser received a delegation of the communal council of Metz, headed by Councillor Cramer. After an address, in which the town thanked him for having the fortress walls and interior forts and bastions removed,¹ and thus doing away with an old and standing complaint of the population, dating even from the time of French possession, and in which loyalty to the empire was also expressed, the Kaiser made a reply. He said he was gratified at the ovations to his person on the part of the people of the city. The more so had this been the case, he added, because so many of the old citizens had had a share in the festive reception given him. He promised to continue to watch over the interests of Metz.

At a banquet in the imperial palace of Strassburg, on September 5, 1899, at which a number of the leading men of both provinces were present, the Kaiser said:

" . . . During the last ten years of my reign I have closely observed things here. With gratitude and deep feeling I can corroborate to the full that the increasingly cordial greeting accorded me whenever I come to the Reichslande, has been to me a faithful barometer whereby to gauge the evidence that the two annexed provinces have comprehended what they have gained by their incorporation with the empire. Wherever we look—joyous faces, sedulous and remunerative

¹ This was done because since its cession to Germany the fortifications of Metz have been modernized, a belt of impregnable forts having been constructed around the city proper, thus giving the rapidly growing town room to spread in every direction. Metz now is twice as large as it was in 1870.—ED.

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toil, rapid development, and unmistakable progress. Well, gentlemen, I congratulate you on the prosperity of the Reichslande. I honor the sentiments of the older generations, who found it hard to accustom themselves to the new order of things. I am moved and gratified by the jubilant reception of the younger generation, which has grown up under the banner of the empire. . . ."

The Kaiser took special pains and went to considerable expense in restoring one of the finest and largest ancient castles in Alsace, the so-called Hohenkönigsburg, in the Middle Ages the seat of a leading noble family. He purchased the site and the dilapidated castle itself from the former owners, and presented them as a historical monument to the province, employing an able architect in drawing up plans and specifications for its restoration. The Alsatian population was much pleased with this, and the provincial chamber appropriated funds to aid in the work. On March 1, 1901, the Kaiser sent an appreciative telegram to the governor-general of the Reichslande, Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, an uncle of his wife's, thanking the chamber for its prompt recognition of his friendly intentions.

Finally, last year, the Kaiser and the Reichstag both gave the culminating proof to the people of Alsace-Lorraine that Germany now had full confidence in their loyalty, in abolishing the last remnant of exceptional and restrictive legislation up to that time still in force there. The Kaiser on that occasion spoke as follows to a delegation made up of several scores of the most prominent inhabitants of both provinces:

"To have the 'dictatur paragraph' rescinded has

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been for many years the wish of the people of the Reichslande.¹ The wish, in fact, antedates my accession to the throne. That I did not grant this wish sooner was due to two causes. For one thing, I first had to win for myself the love and fidelity of my subjects as well as the thorough confidence of my colleagues, the allied sovereigns of the empire. And secondly, outside of Germany I found on my accession a deep and abiding, though unjustified, distrust of me, as the opinion prevailed there that I was yearning for the laurels of warlike successes. To meet this it was my task to convince foreign nations that the new German Emperor and the empire itself were earnestly striving to preserve and maintain peace. These tasks required time for their realization. The German people know by this time what paths I am, for their good, resolved to tread. Germany's sovereigns aid and assist me faithfully with counsel and by their acts. Foreign nations have now learned to count upon us as a rocklike guarantee of peace, instead of considering us, as at first, as inclined to threaten it. Now the empire has been consolidated in its internal affairs, and we have attained to a respected position in the estimation of foreign nations, and thus, at the dawn of the twentieth century, I deem the time ripe when I may fittingly give to the people of the Reichslande this earnest of my imperial friendship and confidence. To do so was all the easier for me, since during my reign the relations between the people of these provinces and myself have become steadily more intimate and cordial,

¹ "Dictatur paragraph" was a provision in the administrative laws governing the two provinces which gave, under exceptional circumstances, *quasi* dictatorial powers to the governor-general and his subordinate authorities, suspending for the time being the laws safeguarding in the remainder of the empire the liberties of the people, such as those relating to the press, arrests, court procedure, and other things.—Ed.

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and the reception given me on my visits here have likewise grown more and more sympathetic. Once more, gentlemen, let me thank you for the loyal attitude of the Reichslande, a loyalty upon which I absolutely rely."

VI

THE KAISER AND ENGLAND

His repeated visits to England—Until the close of 1895 his popularity in England unquestioned—The Kaiser and the British navy—His toast at the Lord Mayor's banquet—Hinting at Anglo-German naval alliance—Congo incident leads to first criticism by the English press—The Kaiser's Krüger despatch and its consequences—His undiminished hospitality to English guests—Continuance of English press hostility—Dynastic relations nevertheless consistently pleasant—Views of Cecil Rhodes and Sir Edwards Reed on the Kaiser—Honoring Lord Roberts—The Kaiser and the death of the Queen.

THE complete veering around in the feelings of one nation for another within the short space of a few years has seldom been illustrated more strikingly and interestingly than in the recent case of England and Germany. As to the underlying causes, accounts and explanations differ, though it may be taken for granted that the reason so often given as the sole one, at least in the initial stage, for this quick metamorphosis from sincere and old-time sympathy to outspoken antipathy—namely, the Kaiser's congratulatory telegram to "Oom" Krüger, after the repulse of the Jameson raid—was not the sole, nor even the leading one. The causes lie deeper.

When William II. attained to the reign, Anglo-German relations, especially those existing between the two dynasties, were very pleasant ones. A short time after the death of the old Emperor, when her son-in-

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law, Frederick III., had ascended the throne for his brief span, Queen Victoria, who had shunned Berlin during the long reign of William I., whom she had regarded with rather a cold feeling, came there on a somewhat lengthy visit. Between her and Bismarck a meeting and a long conversation took place, and this gave rise to all sorts of political gossip and surmises. Nothing, however, has ever become public about the real topics at this interview, and Bismarck has even avoided mention of it in his *Memoirs*.

In November, 1888, the Anglo-German agreement was ratified about the disturbances in East Africa, leading to a joint blockade of all that portion of the East African coast belonging to the territories claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

In the following year the young Kaiser, followed by a German naval squadron, paid his respects at the English court. The interchange of civilities and speeches on that occasion has been mentioned elsewhere.

Some months afterwards, while the Kaiser witnessed the wedding festivities of his sister Sophia in Athens, he paid a visit, on October 30, 1889, on board the British ships lying at anchor in the Piræus. A toast by Admiral Hopkins was replied to by him as follows:

" . . . It might be supposed that my interest in the British navy dates only from my appointment as British admiral. But this is a mistake. From my earliest youth on, even while I ran about the Portsmouth navy-yard as a small boy, I have felt a sincere interest in the British navy. My inspection to-day of your ships was a pleasure to me, and I congratulate you on their condition and looks. Nelson's famous motto is no longer needed. You all do your duty, and we, a young naval

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nation, go to England to study and learn from her navy."

The imperial couple, in 1891, went to England together, and this time it was not only the court they visited but the nation. On July 10th they accepted an invitation from the Lord Mayor of London, and after having been very flatteringly welcomed, the Kaiser said, at the Guildhall banquet, in answer to a toast:

"... I have always felt at home in this charming country, as the grandson of a queen whose name will live forever as a noble character, and as a lady who is great through the wisdom of her counsels, and whose reign, moreover, has brought permanent blessings to England. Besides, the same blood flows in English and German veins. Following the example of my grandfather and of my never-to-be-forgotten father, I shall always, so far as in me lies, cherish the historic friendship between the two nations which often, as your lordship remarked, were seen fighting shoulder to shoulder in defence of freedom and justice. I feel encouraged in my task when I see that wise and able men, as I see them assembled here, do justice to the seriousness and honesty of my intentions. My aim, above all, is the preservation of peace; for peace alone can inspire us with the confidence required for the normal development of science, commerce, and art. Only so long as peace lasts can we devote ourselves earnestly and freely to the great problems whose solution in fairness and equity I regard as the most pressing need of our time.

"You may, therefore, rest assured that I shall continue to do my best to foster the good relations between Germany and the other nations, and that I shall always be found ready to join them in common effort for peace-

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ful progress, friendly intercourse, and the promotion of civilization."

The next year the Kaiser was in England again, attending the Cowes regatta from July 30th till August 9th. He participated in person in the yacht-race for the Queen's cup.

On January 22, 1893, the Duke of Edinburgh paid a visit to the imperial couple in Berlin, and at the luncheon given in his honor at the castle, the German Emperor spoke in a sensational way. He praised the English navy as the unapproached model of other nations, and especially of the German, and then continued:

"... Although the German navy is primarily intended to safeguard and preserve us peace, yet I believe, if the time should come, it will do its full duty in battle. And if it should happen that the English and the German navies fight jointly against a common foe, the memorable watchword, 'England expects every man to do his duty,' which the greatest naval hero of England gave out before the battle of Trafalgar, will find an echo in the patriotic hearts of the German navy."

When the news reached him of the total loss of H. M. S. *Victoria*, with Admiral Sir George Tryon and four hundred seamen on board, the Kaiser sent a well-worded telegram of condolence to the First Lord of the Admiralty. "As a sign of our sorrow I have ordered the British flag half-mast, side by side with our own, on board of my own ships," he wrote.

On August 1, 1893, Emperor William again participated in the Cowes regatta, competing with his own yacht for the Queen's cup. Several friendly arrangements in defining accurately the relative "interest

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spheres" of England and Germany in West and East Africa were ratified during that year.

The Queen appointed her imperial grandson honorary chief of the Royal Dragoons on February 24, 1894. When a delegation of this regiment came to Berlin, on June 7th, the Kaiser said:

" . . . Another tie has been added to the many which for long years have existed between the British and the Prussian armies."

He was again in Cowes on August 5th, following.

At the opening of the Baltic Canal, relations between the two countries were still very pleasant. On June 26, 1895, on board the British battle-ship *Royal Sovereign*, in Kiel harbor, in the midst of the festivities incident to the dedication of the interoceanic canal, the Kaiser made a speech, saying:

" . . . As soon as the news reached me that the Channel fleet was to be sent here to the opening of the Kaiser William Canal, I wired the glad tidings to all my officers, and everywhere the news was received with joy.

" . . . Since our own navy exists we have earnestly striven to form our ideas according to yours, and to learn in every way from you. The history of the British navy is just as familiar to our officers and men as it is to you. You referred to my title as British admiral. I can assure you that it was one of the brightest days of my life, the day on which I inspected your Mediterranean fleet and saw my flag hoisted for the first time on board the *Dreadnaught*. . . . We are working as hard and fast as we can in our navy, and every man tries to do his duty, as Nelson remarked in his last speech."

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It was but a few weeks later, however, that the first disturbing elements crept into Anglo-German relations. In August the Kaiser again visited England, to take part in the regattas, and on the 11th made a call upon Lord Lonsdale. Just then the English press began to speak of the Kaiser in a tone which was very unpleasantly felt in Germany. The English papers stated, in substance, that hitherto the Kaiser had behaved in a more or less friendly manner towards England, but that of late the relations between the two countries had perceptibly suffered, and that it was to be hoped the Kaiser would show a readier spirit where the interests of England were at stake. This outburst, almost unanimous, was solely occasioned by the fact that Germany, in conjunction with other interested powers, had protested against a treaty which England was about to conclude with the Congo State, and by which, if it had gone through, not only Germany's but the interests of other powers in West Africa would have been seriously injured. From that time on, directly due to an incident of a trivial nature, dates the beginning of the mutual animosity which during the next succeeding years—in fact, ever since—has marked the unofficial relations of the two countries, assuming at times, indeed, the character of downright hostility, and threatening international peace.

This is not the place to go into this subject at any length, and no attempt is made here to apportion lights and shadows evenly between the two nations in the matter. But one thing seems very clear: the Kaiser, for all his English blood and his undoubted English sympathies, never quite fathomed the English character, and more particularly the ticklish chapter of British susceptibilities. For if he had, it may be stated with absolute certainty, he would have penned neither the famous despatch to "Oom Paul," nor done several

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other things which, while not in the slightest benefiting Germany and her tangible interests, were sure to arouse or to inflame anew British rancor and ill-will. That he, the man who valued English friendship far more highly than did any of his counsellors and ministers in Germany, was the one who was personally responsible for several of the bitterest outbreaks of British spleen, shows conclusively, to any one willing to see patent facts, that these "slips" of his were owing, not to fell purpose, but to his deficient comprehension of English sentiment.

The events in South Africa in December, 1895, and later on, are still fresh in the public mind. On December 24, 1895, the German consul in Pretoria had sent the first alarming news about doings in Johannesburg. On December 30th, the Germans resident in Pretoria asked the Kaiser's protection, and the German consul there requested that a detachment of German marines be sent from the German cruiser *Seeadler*, in Delagoa Bay, on to Pretoria. On New Year's Day, 1896, representations were made in London by the German ambassador, and on the same day the German consul in Pretoria cabled the news of the raid by Dr. Jameson and the troops of the Chartered Company. After the defeat of the raiders at Krugersdorp, on January 3, 1896, the Kaiser cabled to President Krüger:

"I congratulate you most heartily upon the fact that you have succeeded, without appealing to the aid of friendly powers, and solely relying upon your own people and energy, in overcoming the armed crowds which had entered your country as disturbers of the peace, and in restoring peace and the independence of your country as against attacks from without."

This telegram, and more particularly the phrasing of

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it—the repeated use of the word “your country,” and the mention of its “independence” and of the “aid of friendly powers”—occasioned an indignation in England which, avalanche-like, gathered with the events of each new day more momentum and force. In London, anti-German manifestations took place, and German places of business were mobbed. The English press indulged in scoffs, gibes, caricatures, and an amount of plain speaking at the expense of the German Emperor which took both him and the German people by surprise, and which bred there an amount of wrath all the greater, as with the muzzled condition of the German press such terse and frank comment on the crowned head of a friendly nation is altogether unknown. The Kaiser himself, aware of the absolute freedom of the English press, paid apparently no heed to these attacks in printer’s ink, and, while the English press was still daily ringing with bitter abuse of him, he received the British Institution of Naval Architects, who were on a visit to Germany, on May 27th, with perfect courtesy, and even so arranged things as to make their three weeks’ stay as pleasant and profitable as possible. On June 10th, during a session of the society as guests of the Technical High-School at Charlottenburg, near Berlin, he presided. On June 12th he invited them to a unique military spectacle in the park of the New Palace in Potsdam, brilliantly illuminated in their honor, and assisted again in person at it.

All through 1897 the English press continued unabated its campaign against Germany and her Kaiser, and the German press, which at first had been slow to respond, now almost equalled their foe in virulence and persistency. In June, on being interpellated in Parliament, Colonial Secretary Chamberlain admitted that better relations with Germany were desirable.

However, the intimate and cordial relations between

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the two courts suffered not at all during this time, but the Kaiser in so far minded adverse public opinion in England as to discontinue his annual visits there.

Nevertheless, on September 4, 1897, at a Sedan Day celebration in Hanover, upon Waterloo Square, the Kaiser rode into the centre of the enormous hollow square formed by the large body of troops, and delivered himself of an address, in which he spoke in a very friendly and appreciative way of England. He said that, looking at the Waterloo memorial column in the middle of the square, he was reminded that at that great and decisive battle Germans and English had fought like heroes, side by side and as true companions-in-arms, and a few hours ago news had come to him of another great victory which the English army, contending against a far more numerous foe, had won in Africa. He ended by proposing cheers for the Queen. The victory here mentioned by the Kaiser was Kitchener's over the Mahdi.

During 1898, however, and for some time after, a part of the English press began once more to lean towards the Kaiser and Germany. On February 12, 1898, for example, the *Saturday Review* contained a long and appreciative article on the Kaiser, particularly viewing him in the light of a husband, father, and private person, lauding the purity and the reposefulness of his family life, and according him high praise for his tactful attitude at the Queen's jubilee, and for his homely and thoroughly unaffected hospitality, shown on various occasions to English sportsmen at the Kiel regattas, and to other English guests.

A short time after this, when Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, paid a visit to his grandmother, the Queen, similar press voices were lifted up in England, and even the radical *Daily Chronicle* said there was no reason to receive this prince as a foe, nor for

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English papers constantly to go out of their way to insult the Kaiser as if he were ripe for the insane asylum. Some of the passages in this article, which created at the time something of a sensation, said:

“ . . . Kaiser William will not easily forget the English vulgarities of which he has been the victim. . . . The Kaiser has accomplished great things. One of them was to weld Germany into the most compact and dirigible entity on the European continent. . . . He has never suffered a serious defeat, and the German Empire has steadily progressed under him. Such is the restless, picturesque career of Kaiser William. . . . ”

During the Kaiser's Palestine trip, in 1898, the English press repeatedly commented in rather hostile fashion. But that did not hinder the Kaiser, on November 15th, from sojourning, for a brief space, in Malta on his return voyage.

But it was not until the next year, 1899, that the Kaiser resumed his former visits to England, although this time he did not touch London, and confined himself strictly to a short stay with the Queen in Windsor, and relatively little comment appeared in the press about it.

In April, 1899, he received Sir Cecil Rhodes, who had requested a hearing to submit to the German monarch a detailed statement of his great project, the Cape-to-Cairo telegraph line, which necessarily had to cross German territory in East Africa. Rhodes said about this interview:

“ At first there had been great coolness on the Kaiser's part, but the disagreeable feeling thus engendered in me soon yielded to genuine admiration when I noticed in this monarch keen interest in everything colonial, coupled with an amazing acquaintance with every cognate subject, even down to the minutest details. My audience of three-quarter of an hour's length was gone like a flash, especially as conversation did not lag for a second, and as the Kaiser developed in his questions diplomatic skill of the first order.”

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Besides, Rhodes was full of appreciation of the Kaiser's amiability at the dinner given by Sir Franc Lascelles, the British ambassador in Berlin, saying that the contrast was striking—at the previous audience every inch an emperor, and at the dinner full of human kindness.

Another journalistic contribution, likewise calculated to correct in the English mind erroneous and preconceived opinions regarding the Kaiser, was that by Sir Edwards Reed, the eminent English naval architect. From his long account may be quoted the following passages:

“ . . . What struck me most was the surprisingly accurate and detailed knowledge the Kaiser showed even as to minor points—points which escape the horizon of other responsible statesmen. . . . It was most apparent to me in naval lore. When we touched a point which is indeed of the most far-reaching importance in naval warfare, I discovered to my unbounded astonishment that the Kaiser's personal information on the topic was more extensive and more up-to-date than either my own or that of the secretary of his navy. And he had acquired this knowledge by actual and practical experience. . . . I very much doubt whether any one of our admirals is equally well informed about the minutest part of a ship's machinery or appurtenances. . . . In any case, it is a fact that the *raison d'être* for every piece and part of a modern vessel had to be fully demonstrated to the Kaiser before he would admit of its necessity, and his view was clearly that no improvement should be omitted merely because of a prejudice or indifference.

“ There is no doubt that the Emperor William II. has recognized with singular lucidity the value of sea-power for an empire like his. . . . His motive in this striving for sea-power is quite simply this, that the German Empire has too many great and distantly located interests to enable it to retain its leading position without a reasonable expansion of its maritime forces; still less can it indulge without them the colonial aspirations and the capacity for colonizing which the German people undoubtedly possess. . . . He perceives, perhaps more clearly than anybody else, that great nations, at least those of Teutonic

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stock, can no longer remain locked within their own narrow boundary-lines. For the protection of its rapidly expanding commerce beyond the seas the empire requires a strong navy, but I will admit the possibility that in enlarging his navy the Kaiser keeps an eye both on his neighbor to the east and to the west. As an Englishman, I confess that the sea expansion of any other nation but my own cannot be matter of indifference, for it threatens, in any case, a supremacy of which I am not a little proud. But as an Englishman, I also confess that the threatening of this supremacy proceeding from Germany is a perfectly legitimate and honorable one, such, in fact, that Great Britain may regard it in a quite friendly sense."

The article then proceeds to discuss interestingly the two constitutional forms of government, as illustrated by Germany and England, and then comes to speak of the Kaiser's telegram to Krüger. He says:

"Telegrams like that of the Kaiser's are the work of a moment, and they ought not to be placed in the same category with diplomatic or international negotiations."

It was on October 16, 1900, that the Anglo-German agreement was ratified regarding the "open-door" principle in China. Its purpose was to hinder any European or Asiatic power, taking advantage of the momentary complications in China, to acquire new or extend old territorial rights there, and to keep the harbors and rivers of the huge empire open for the trade of the world. During the "Boxer" rebellion and the subsequent troubles in China, leading to European and American armed intervention, British and German soldiers fought together and remained good comrades, English correspondents and officers not stinting their praise of German discipline and valor.

The beginning of the year 1901 saw the death of Queen Victoria, and the Kaiser, shortly before her end, arrived at her bedside in Osborne on January 19th. He had hastened, immediately after receiving alarming

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news from England, from the northernmost end of Prussia, where the bicentenary of the foundation of the Prussian Kingdom had been celebrated with great éclat, to Berlin, and thence without loss of time to England. This fact, and his whole demeanor during and after the sad event, won him back, for a time at least, the hearts of the English nation. Even the bitter and consistent animosity shown by the German people to England during the entire duration of the Boer war has not materially changed this fact so far as the personality of the Kaiser is concerned. The Kaiser intensified this feeling by the great honors he showed, in the face of an adverse and unanimous public opinion in Germany, to Lord Roberts for able generalship exhibited during the Boer war. He issued an army order from Osborne, in which he said:

“The death of my beloved, revered, and unforgettable grandmother, the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, has overwhelmed me and my house with mourning. I know that my army shares the bitter loss which I have suffered. . . .”

On January 27th, King Edward appointed the Kaiser British field-marshal, whereupon the latter sent to Lord Salisbury, the British premier, a despatch, wherein he said:

“The King, my august uncle, has conferred upon me the rank of field-marshal in his army, and has sent me news that this appointment is to become known on my birthday. I hasten to say to you that I value very highly this extraordinary proof of his Majesty's affection for my person. I rejoice at the thought that henceforth I shall belong to the highest officers in his Majesty's army.”

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And in a similar spirit he telegraphed to Lord Roberts, the chief commander against the Boers.

After the obsequies of Queen Victoria, at which the Kaiser was greeted by the English public with evident consideration and sympathy, a farewell dinner was given by the English royal family, at which King Edward spoke warmly of the Kaiser. The latter replied:

“Nothing has given me greater satisfaction than that it was permitted me to be present with my honored relatives here during the last moments of the great and noble life of my beloved grandmother, for whom I have cherished since my earliest youth sentiments of the sincerest affection and veneration. I thank his Majesty the King for having granted me the rank of a field-marshal in the British army. This honor enables me to wear the same uniform with the Duke of Wellington and Lord Roberts, and it is precisely this compliment which will be appreciated the most keenly by my own army. I reciprocate most cordially those sincere sentiments which your Majesty entertains in regard to the relations between our two empires.”

To the Lord Mayor, too, Kaiser William said, in parting, some touching words regarding his feelings for the late Queen, and that the sad yet equally imposing spectacle at the obsequies in London had made a very deep impression on him.

At the dedication of St. Mary's Church, forming part of the ancient Marienburg, the centre of the order of St. John, in the province of West Prussia, the Kaiser sent an appreciative telegram to King Edward, thanking him for delegating to the ceremony distinguished British knights of the order, and full of interesting historical references to former Anglo-German co-operation within the order, especially during the time

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of the (English) King Henry IV., who had fought with the German knights against the then pagan aboriginal inhabitants of the Prussian province.

At King Edward's coronation, on August 9, 1902, the Kaiser was ably represented by his brother, Prince Henry, and by the Princess Henry.

VII

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How his views regarding this country underwent a complete change by the Spanish-American War—His reply to the late Ambassador Phelps—His telegram at the Columbus celebration—Condoling with us on the loss of the *Maine*—The Coghlan incident—Interchange of telegrams between him and Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt—Prince Henry's visit—Presentation of a statue of Frederick the Great—Some interesting remarks by the Kaiser touching recent political and commercial development here.

It is not to be supposed that so alert a mind as the Kaiser's would leave a big nation like ours, looming so portentously in the horizon, out of his reckoning. And, indeed, he has not done so. Like all political leaders of Europe who possess a clear and far vision, he, too, observed with growing interest, not unmixed with awe and apprehension, the marvellously rapid and yet steady and perfectly normal rise of this country as an eminent factor in the world's political and commercial expansion and progress. Even while still plain Prince William, and having at the time no prospects of coming to the throne until mature in years, this country interested him mightily. But it was more the striking and picturesque contrast it afforded with European conditions, and with the hoary, old-world traditions, than for its own sake that it drew his attention. From twenty to thirty he diligently studied American life and ideals from books, the latter mostly selected or made

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accessible to him by his old-time instructor, Professor Hinzpeter. He was wont to say that he regretted exceedingly that circumstances forbade him to undertake an extensive and instructive tour of the United States. If anything, this regret has become keener since his accession to the throne.

He contemplated seriously several times making a "study trip" to the United States. The first time was in 1893, when he earnestly desired visiting the Chicago Exposition, and afterwards making a circular tour through the country. The chief German commissioner for the exposition, Wermuth, after his return from a first preliminary visit to the fair grounds and to New York, in a long special audience with the Kaiser, encouraged the idea, and gave in detail all the reasons which in his judgment spoke for and also against such an enterprise. But the German ambassador in Washington sided against Wermuth's views, and the idea was dropped. Again he reverted to the plan in 1902, but it was once more successfully represented to him that in this country crowned heads could under no circumstances be so closely and securely protected against street abuse, mob insults, etc., and still less against hostile and perhaps scurrilous press comment, as is the case in European countries. The same reasons held good when, still more recently, the idea was broached to him to promise a visit to the forthcoming St. Louis Exposition. But he at least overcame these objections in so far as to send his brother, Prince Henry, here a year ago.

The Kaiser's views about this country were, despite the large number of serious and more or less truthful books he had read on America, nevertheless, rather crude and faulty in essential respects until and even after the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1898. Especially had he been misled by his advisers and misinformed by his diplomatic and military representatives

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abroad in the matter of the naval and military readiness of this republic, of the warlike and ambitious spirit living in the masses of the American people. That war, however, opened his eyes. It brought within his ken a wealth of amazing facts to which his immediate entourage and the Conservative party in Prussia, both looking askance at the Kaiser's juster appreciation of the resources and latent power of this republic, had for years systematically tried to blind him. Since Dewey's dashing victory in Manila Bay, since the day of Santiago and the utter annihilation of Cervera's fleet, William II. of Germany holds a largely modified opinion of these United States, and he is not likely to commit any more severe and far-reaching blunders in his estimate of this nation or in his dealings with us. The Venezuelan incident, at this hour still engrossing the attention and the jealousies of the American people, will be found, when the whole truth about the Kaiser's part in it will become known, to have been a matter in which he has been more sinned against than sinning.

When the Kaiser came to the throne, in 1888, relations between this country and Germany were exceptionally pleasant ones. No cloud of any kind seemed to threaten them. And when, in September, 1889, a new American ambassador, Mr. William Walter Phelps, came to Berlin, and handed the Kaiser, on the 26th of that month, his credentials, these friendly relations were dwelt upon by the monarch in his reply to Mr. Phelps. He said on that occasion:

"I have sincerely rejoiced at the words with which you, Mr. Ambassador, introduced yourself here. I do not doubt for a moment that you will always be successful in your endeavors to perpetuate those century-old good relations which have existed unbrokenly between your own country and my empire.

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“From my boyhood up I have had great admiration for the powerfully progressing commonwealth which you are to represent here, and the study of your history in peace and war has always had a peculiar interest for me. Among the many remarkable characteristics which your countrymen can justly claim, it is especially their spirit of enterprise, of order, and their inventiveness which have drawn upon them the attention of the world. The Germans feel attracted to the people of the United States all the more as they are intimately allied with the North Americans by the manifold ties which race affinity brings about. The predominant sentiment of both nations is that of tried friendship and good-will, and the future will only strengthen the cordiality of these relations.”

In 1892 the Kaiser—and the American press at that time was not slow to point it out—as the only one of Europe’s monarchs, sent a congratulatory despatch to this country on the occasion of the Columbus celebration, in October of that year, in Chicago. The message to President Cleveland ran as follows:

“The German Emperor sends you, through the German *chargé d'affaires*, his sincere congratulations on the quadri-centenary of the discovery of America, and unites with this expression his most cordial wishes for the continued development of the great country whose chief you are.”

When the *Maine* exploded in the harbor of Havana, on February 17, 1898, the Kaiser sent President McKinley the following cablegram:

“Permit me to express to you and your country my sincere condolence on the terrible loss of the *Maine*,

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and on the death of so many valorous officers and men of your navy."

The *Maine* disaster, as everybody remembers, was the direct cause of the war with Spain, and in its course several incidents happened, more particularly those in Manila Bay, in which the German admiral, Von Diederichs, played a conspicuous and unfortunate part, and the persistently unfriendly attitude of the German press, which were calculated to inflame American public opinion against Germany and her Kaiser. In fact, there was something like temporary estrangement noticeable between the two countries, so far, at least, as popular sentiment goes, although the official relations between Washington and Berlin remained throughout consistently friendly. It was in 1899 when this somewhat hostile feeling led to the Coghlan incident. Captain Coghlan, U.S.N., returning with several other officers from the Philippines, was given a banquet in New York, and towards its close related to his hosts his version of the transactions between Diederichs and Admiral Dewey, not forgetting the latter's reply to some piece of impertinence, that, "as for the German ships and their flag, of which he could buy at any store any amount at half a dollar a yard, they should not hinder him in blockading the harbor. At all events, if Germany wanted war with America, they could have it any moment." And this Coghlan followed up by singing, at the Kaiser's expense, the well-known burlesque song, "Me and God."

Great indignation was felt at this in Germany when it became known there. On April 24th, Secretary of State Hay expressed to the German ambassador, Von Holleben, his regret and disapprobation at Captain Coghlan's conduct. And on April 26th, President

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McKinley received the ambassador to add his own expression of censure of Coghlan's escapade to that previously given by Mr. Hay, asking the German diplomat at the same time to communicate to his imperial master and the imperial family assurances of his friendly regard.

It is claimed that the Kaiser looked upon this insult offered him by an officer of a friendly power in a much more serious light than the matter was viewed here, and that it made him for the first time aware of the change which public sentiment in America had undergone as to his person. The incident led, at least indirectly, to the recall of Admiral von Diederichs, and, later on, to the resolve to send the Kaiser's brother, Prince Henry, here on a mission of friendship and good-will, a resolve carried out in 1902, with the best results.

Before that, however, other evidences of the Kaiser's continued friendliness came to light. When President McKinley cabled the German Emperor, on July 5, 1900, his own and the American people's condolence on the assassination of Baron von Ketteler, the German minister in China, the Kaiser replied:

"For the warm words of sympathy which your Excellency has been good enough to express relative to the murder of my representative in Peking, I render my most sincere thanks. I recognize in it the common pulse-beat of those interests which unite all civilized nations."

In the same year, on September 1st, the Kaiser telegraphed to President McKinley, on the occasion of the completed laying of the first cable establishing direct cable connection between the two countries and built entirely with German capital:

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"At the initiation to-day of the new cable bringing Germany and the United States in closest telegraphic connection, I gladly seize the opportunity afforded to express to your Excellency my joy at the completion of this significant work of peace. I know I am of one mind with your Excellency in wishing and hoping that direct cable communication will contribute to the general welfare and to the maintenance and consolidation of friendly relations between the two countries."

Only a few weeks later the Kaiser sent another cablegram to the President in which he gave utterance to his sympathy on the severe loss of life and property caused by the great cyclone in Texas. The message read:

"I must communicate to your Excellency the expression of my deep fellow-feeling on the occasion of the disaster which has overtaken the flourishing city and harbor of Galveston and other parts of Texas. I mourn with you and the people of the United States the great loss of life and property which this hurricane was responsible for. On a par, however, with the immensity of the injury wrought is the indomitable spirit of the citizens of the New World, which they have won and preserved in the long struggle against the hostile forces of nature. I indulge the earnest hope that Galveston will rise to renewed prosperity."

When on September 10, 1901, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist assassin, during a visit to the Buffalo Exposition, the Kaiser immediately telegraphed as follows:

"The news of the execrable attempt upon your life has plunged me in grief, and I wish to express my own

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and the entire German people's sympathy with you and with the sorrow that has overwhelmed your country. May it please God to vouchsafe to you safe and rapid recovery."

To Mrs. McKinley, too, the imperial couple jointly sent the following cablegram:

"Terror-struck by the attempt upon your husband, both the Empress and I express to you our profound sympathy and the hope that God may restore health to President McKinley."

Through our embassy in Berlin these messages were answered as follows:

"The touching evidence of sympathy by their Majesties the German Emperor and Empress has been communicated to Mrs. McKinley. The embassy is instructed to express in her behalf deep-felt appreciation."

In 1902, on the occasion of the launching of a yacht, the *Meteor*, which the Kaiser had ordered built here, and which ceremony took place on Shooter's Island, Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, visited this country. He was everywhere received with hospitality and cordial good-will, and his winning ways, his frank and unaffected manliness and unassuming character doubtless produced a pleasant and lasting impression on the people and government of this country. The visit, too, probably aided in healing some old sores dating from 1898, and was thus in a sense a political event. In Germany, however, where royalty stands under all circumstances on an exceptional and exalted footing, and where such condescending demeanor as Prince Henry exhibited during his entire visit here is unheard of, they have, nevertheless, been somewhat disappointed with

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the palpable results. In this country and in England, the question with many was, What was the real object of Prince Henry's visit?

To this question a distinguished American naval officer, Rear-Admiral Evans, gives a quite explicit and more or less satisfying answer in an article which appeared, in June last, in a London magazine. Admiral Evans, intimately and for many years acquainted with Prince Henry, and who was the guest's constant companion throughout his stay in the United States, says, in substance, that from his personal knowledge and from many conversations had with the Prince, he could say that the only purpose aimed at or subserved by the visit was to show the friendship of the German Kaiser and his people, and, incidentally, to have him acquire, vicariously for the Kaiser, as it were, as comprehensive a knowledge of this country, its people, institutions, purposes, and methods, as the brief duration of his stay here would permit.

To show his gratitude to the American people for the hearty and kindly hospitality shown his brother, and to give them at the same time a new proof of his friendship, the Kaiser, soon after Prince Henry's return, gave notice of his intention to present as a gift a statue of his sire, Frederick the Great. On May 14, 1902, he telegraphed to President Roosevelt:

"I am still under the strong impression which the brilliant and cordial reception of my brother, Prince Henry, by the citizens of the United States of America has made on me. In the speeches in which he was welcomed, mention was made repeatedly of the fact that my ancestor, Frederick the Great, consistently assumed a friendly attitude towards the young American Republic at the time of its formation, laying thereby the foundation for those amicable relations which have ever

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since existed between the two countries. The example thus furnished me by the great king I will follow. I should like to perpetuate the memory of the visit of Prince Henry by a gift to the American people, which I beg you will accept in their name. I intend to present the United States with a bronze statue of Frederick the Great, which might be erected in Washington in a spot which I leave it to you to select. May this gift be looked upon as a permanent token of the intimate relations which our two great nations have so successfully nursed and developed."

To this telegram President Roosevelt replied, in German, in the following message, which the Kaiser received in Wiesbaden, where he then happened to be:

"I am deeply touched by your friendly and magnificent offer. I thank you cordially for it in the name of the United States, and shall submit it at once to Congress. It will certainly give our people the greatest pleasure to receive from your hands a statue of the famous ruler and soldier, one of the greatest men of all times, Frederick the Great, and it is specially appropriate that his statue is to be erected here in the city of Washington, the capital of the republic whose birth he contemplated with such amicable interest. For this new proof of your friendly sentiment towards this country I thank you in its name. The gift will surely be viewed here as a renewed token of friendship between the two nations. We hope and trust that this friendship will become still stronger and more durable in the years to come. It is a harbinger of the welfare of all humanity, that at the threshold of this century the American and the German peoples work together in a spirit of cordial friendship.

ROOSEVELT."

Another proof of the Kaiser's friendly regard for us was his inviting, as his personal guests, our Generals Corbin, Young, and Wood, to participate in the great army manœuvres last fall. They returned full of praise and appreciation of the manifold kindnesses shown and

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the facilities afforded them to view advantageously the great military spectacle.

Again, in the Venezuela imbroglio, long before deciding on compulsory measures towards that recalcitrant South American debtor, the Kaiser took explicit pains to ascertain the opinions, predilections, and convenience of the United States, so far as steps which he contemplated were concerned, and the policy finally outlined and adopted by him in trying to effect a settlement with Venezuela was substantially based on a previous friendly understanding had with Washington. He also made a point, last year, of giving, through the mouth of his then ambassador in Washington, Von Holleben, formal assurances of his and his government's unqualified adherence to the Monroe doctrine, as that article of American faith had last been officially interpreted by President Roosevelt himself.

Again, the recall of Ambassador von Holleben, who had not shown a lucky hand in dealing with the adjustment of important points at issue between the two countries, and the sending in his place of Baron Speck von Sternburg, must be taken as an earnest of his desire to avoid all friction with this country. For he knew that Baron Sternburg was, in a peculiarly strong sense, *persona gratissima* with President Roosevelt and with our entire official world in Washington.

In the foregoing it was distinctly stated that the Kaiser's views as to this country underwent a great modification since the events of the year 1898. In proof of this, some of his authentic utterances about America, made for the most part anterior to the war with Spain, must be given a place here.

To the late General Runyon, American ambassador in Berlin during the last Cleveland administration, he said:

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"Such a pushing people as the Americans will, sooner or later, clash with others, but let us hope never with Germany."

To Ambassador White, recently retired, he remarked:

"America is a country of contrasts—piercing lights and deep shadows."

On another occasion:

"I know there are many things my Germans might learn from the American people; above all, their optimism, their almost naïve enthusiasm and unquenchable energy."

To the late ex-President Harrison he said, in the course of an hour's conversation:

"Your whole country is an experiment—an intensely interesting one, I admit, but still an experiment. Whether it will stand the storms of time as the older monarchies of Europe have done remains still to be seen."

To the same:

"One of the doubtful features of American life is its lack of national cohesion and homogeneity. You're a conglomerate, a bubbling caldron."

To the same:

"Such seething party politics as yours are not conducive to a calm, well-balanced public opinion."

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There is, however, nothing reported of him during the last couple of years which mirrors the like views. On the contrary, since Prince Henry, after the latter's return from his visit here, had given his imperial brother a full, vivid, and truthful account of all the novel things seen and heard here, the Kaiser is said to have given expression in private conversation to his great admiration of the pluck, the national cohesion, and the fervid patriotism of the American people.



PROMOTING THE WELFARE
OF THE EMPIRE

VIII

THE KAISER AND THE UNITY IDEA

He is the chief instrument of imperial consolidation—Constant iteration of the necessity of national unanimity—The empire's jubilee in 1896—The Kaiser's speeches and decrees on that occasion—His commemoration of the centenary of William I.'s birth—His oration at the dedicatory festivities of the Marienburg.

His very position as head of reunited Germany makes it the Kaiser's duty and prerogative to advocate consistently the idea of national consolidation. He personates and typifies the empire's unity and harmony. Far more than his grandfather did, William II. stands for imperial power and influence, and so far as his internal policy is concerned, preponderance of imperial power may be taken as the first and foremost item in his programme. During his reign of fifteen years, his speeches and sayings on innumerable occasions breathe this central idea. During his constant travels within the empire, when receiving delegations, at the openings of Reichstag sessions, when assisting at the celebration of national memorial days, the Kaiser always stands for an ideal conception of the nation's consolidation.

When the war with France broke out, in 1870, Prince William was but eleven years old, but with enthusiasm he followed every phase of the memorable struggle, and waxed eloquent, in his boyish way, at the heroic deeds of his father and grandfather. He prized

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—and still prizes—the acquisitions made by that war, especially the achievement of national unity and the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine, as a sacred inheritance whose conservation and full fruition is left to himself above all.

Eight years after the accession of William II., the nation celebrated the quarter-century jubilee of the conclusion of the peace of Frankfort-on-Main, from which dates the internationally admitted sanction of the young empire's existence, and Kaiser William II. at that time repeatedly gave voice to the national joy at the accomplished unity.

On January 17, 1896, the Prince-Regent Luitpold of Bavaria¹ sent the Kaiser the following telegram:

“On the eve of the German Empire's jubilee, I must express to your Imperial Majesty my most sincere congratulations. Twenty-five years ago the new German Empire was founded. To-day it stands, internally consolidated, firm and respected by the other nations. May Providence continue to bless and protect it.”

To which the Kaiser responded:

“With all my heart I thank your Royal Highness for the congratulations sent me on the occasion of the German Empire's jubilee. The bond which has united the German tribes and their rulers during the past twenty-five years will prove, I trust to God, likewise solid and unbreakable in the future.”

On the succeeding day, the anniversary of the memorable proclamation of a reunited Germany which had taken place in the Salle des Glaces, in Louis XIV.'s grand palace in Versailles, on January 18, 1871, while

¹ King Otto of Bavaria being hopelessly insane, his uncle, Luitpold, has been reigning in his stead ever since, his official title being “Prince-Regent.” He is an octogenarian.—ED.

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the guns flashed and boomed the besiegers' greetings into the brilliant capital of the foe, there was a special divine service in the old royal castle in Berlin, followed by a splendid function in the White Hall. Among the invited guests on that occasion were the members of the present Reichstag, and of the very first one, that of 1871. The Kaiser then appeared, surrounded by a number of German sovereigns, by his court in gala attire, and by a brilliant suite of distinguished generals and high dignitaries. He read from the steps of the throne a document whose striking passages were the following:

" . . . Twenty-five years ago my grandfather, now resting in God, obeying the unanimous desire of the German sovereigns, the rulers of the free cities, and of the nation at large, accepted the dignity of the German Emperor. Therefore we have resolved to commemorate this important event. By it the old-time longing of the German people has at last been definitely and brilliantly realized, and Germany has once more assumed that position to which its history and its civilizatory development entitles it among the nations of the globe.

"We have for the purpose bidden here the representatives of our august allies and the delegates of the nation, as well as those who at the great time of our unification aided prominently in accomplishing this task.

"Surrounded by the banners and standards of those glorious regiments which were the instruments of the valor of our people, and which on that day saluted the first German Kaiser, we are reminded with a deeply moved heart of that inspiring picture which the united fatherland offered to its contemporaries in its princes and consolidated tribes.

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"Looking back upon the past twenty-five years, we cannot do other than offer our humble thanks to divine Providence, whose blessing has visibly rested upon the empire and its members.

"The pledge given by our grandfather in accepting the imperial crown, and repeated by his successors, to protect with German steadfastness and fidelity the rights of the empire and its members, to maintain peace, and to promote the strength of the nation, has with God's help been kept hitherto.

"Borne by the conviction that its mission is to lift up its voice in the council of nations in favor of peace, with malice towards none and with favor towards none, the young empire has devoted itself undisturbedly to the task of consolidating its internal institutions.

". . . Ready and willing for any sacrifice where the good of the whole was at stake, the empire has demonstrated its ability to retain what has been acquired, to safeguard it, to heal defects in the social organism, and to go forward in furthering the satisfaction of the different classes of the population.

"We can rejoice at what has been accomplished in this line.

". . . A free track for the development and manifestation of the intellectual and material forces of the nation, the promotion of the well-being thereby engendered, the establishment of equal and common justice, the security of an impartial and generally approved law, and the education of our youth to become God-fearing and faithful to the fatherland—these have been the aims which the empire has constantly striven for.

". . . As we ourselves herewith renew the promise to live after the august example furnished us by our deplored grandfather, in ceaseless fulfilment of duty, so we demand, by right of our imperial office, of all and

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every member of our nation, first always to keep in view the welfare of the empire, regardless of party or partisan interests, imitating in this our high allies, to devote themselves to the service of the fatherland with all their powers and with German fidelity, and thus promote in joint effort the greatness and the happiness of our beloved country.

"If this be done, the blessings of Heaven will, we trust, continue to remain with us, and we shall, as in that great time of unification, harmonious and proof against every attack, go on devoting ourselves to the fostering and preservation of our own national interests.

"And the German Empire, instead of being a danger to other states and countries, will remain, enjoying the esteem and confidence of foreign nations, a strong bulwark of peace.

"God grant that this be so!"

Then the Kaiser seized the regimental flag of the 1st Foot Guards, lowered it, and, in a strong voice and with dramatic effect, said:

"Facing this venerable symbol of glory, typical of two centuries of unexampled achievements, I herewith renew my vow always to protect the honor of nation and empire, both within and without! One country, one nation, one God!"

At the grand banquet in the afternoon the Kaiser delivered himself of the following speech:

". . . What our fathers dreamed, what German youth sang and desired, that was vouchsafed to my father and grandfather to accomplish, with the German princes aiding faithfully, restoring the glories

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of old. We on our part may enjoy; we may feel glad to-day. But that means that we, too, have a duty to perform—namely, to preserve what they achieved. The German Empire has become a world power. Everywhere, in the farthest corners of the globe, dwell thousands of our countrymen. German wares, German science, German diligence cross the oceans. In thousands of millions we may reckon the values which Germany has floating on the seas.

“It is your part, gentlemen, to help me in the task of linking firmly this greater German Empire with the smaller home. The vow I made to-day in the presence of you all can only be wholly fulfilled if you, stirred by the spirit of holy, undivided patriotism, lend me your fullest, most untiring support. With this wish, therefore, that you will help me with all your might in doing my duty not alone to my countrymen at home, but also to those many thousands of our countrymen living abroad—that is, to enable me to protect them when it is my duty so to do—and with the poet’s warning, touching us all, ‘Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, erwerb es, um es zu besitzen,’¹ I raise my glass and propose a toast to the welfare of our beloved German fatherland: The German Empire—may it prosper and live! *Hoch!* Again, *hoch!* And a third time, *hoch!*”

To perpetuate the memory of his grandfather, William I., to whom and his father he in his speeches and decrees on that day, and on many other occasions, exclusively attributed the glory of the great achievements of 1870–71,² the Kaiser founded a new and

¹ A quotation from Goethe, meaning, What thou hast inherited from thy fathers must be earned by thyself in order to be fully thine.—ED.

² The systematic omission of the names of Bismarck and Moltke, and of all others who had had a leading share in bringing about the re-establishment

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highly graded and prized decoration, the so-called "Wilhelms-Orden," and issued a decree to that effect on the same day, January 18, 1896.

On the 22d of the same month the Kaiser, in a decree addressed to the then imperial chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, expresses great satisfaction at the unanimity and enthusiasm with which the empire's jubilee had been kept, and then says:

" . . . This has gladdened my heart and strengthened my belief that the German people will never permit that the things won on January 18, 1871, be wrested from their grasp, and that, with the help of God, they will know how to defend their most prized treasures. To all those who have evidenced their love for the fatherland and for me, and who have helped me by their collaboration, I render my most cordial thanks. I request you to publish this decree immediately."

Soon after, at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the peace of Frankfort-on-Main, the imperial couple having gone to that city for the purpose of celebrating the day, a monument of William I. was unveiled by the Kaiser. And in reply to an address by the chief burgomaster of Frankfort, Adickes, the monarch delivered an address of considerable length. In it he said:

of the German Empire and the preceding victories over France, created at the time wide-spread indignation in Germany. In some previous speeches the Kaiser had even spoken of Bismarck as a mere <i>Handlanger</i> — <i>i. e.</i> , "tool"—of his grandfather, whereas that term of contempt could be more fittingly applied, as history	teaches, to Bismarck's nominal master. The total estrangement that took place between the impulsive Kaiser and the retired ex-chancellor, and Bismarck's frequent sarcastic remarks about the young monarch, explain to a very great extent this phenomenon, but there was also policy in it.—Ed.
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“ . . . It is meet that on such a day our eyes turn towards the figure of my grandfather. We see him at a time when he, at the side of his mother and of his father, sojourned far in the east of the monarchy,¹ and we apprehend, from the vicissitudes through which his life had to pass, how the Almighty leads ruler and nation, in order to form gradually the tool wherewith He is to give back peace to the world. . . . Our eyes dwell on him at that moment when he stood in Königsberg emphatically demonstrating the divine right of royalty, the sceptre in one hand and the imperial sword in the other, giving God alone the honor, and taking over the heavy burden of his office from Him alone. Thus he became the selected, the chosen instrument of the Most High. But not alone that. He became also for us the model, the model for all monarchs, who can achieve only in that case something for their peoples and through their peoples if they remain firm in the faith that their office, given them by Heaven, also compels them to render one day an account of it to Heaven.”

In the further course of his oration the Kaiser spoke enthusiastically of the army, which he called “the creation of my grandfather,” and with which “the old master” had restored a period of long, unbroken peace to the world. He condemned political party spirit, and said:

“The army and the commander-in-chief alone guarantee the security of the empire and the peace of the world.”

¹The Kaiser here refers, of course, to the flight of his grandfather, then a boy of ten, with his mother, Queen Louise, to the remotest and poorest province of Prussia, after the reverses, in 1806, at Jena and Auerstädt. —Ed.

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On that day he sent also a telegram to Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruh, saying:

"The peace of Frankfort, concluded twenty-five years ago, and in memory of which this moment an equestrian statue of Kaiser William the Great, now resting in God, has been unveiled, formed the last link in a chain of great events by which Germany recovered once more her unity and greatness, as also the position to which she is entitled in the council of nations. It is my desire and my duty to acknowledge on this occasion, my dear Prince, in gratitude and respect, the great services rendered by you. . . ."

On May 17, 1896, the Kaiser, in a decree to the chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, thanked the whole nation for the many signs of patriotism evinced of late, especially for the dedication of so many monuments erected by a grateful posterity to the "Hero Emperor, William the Great."

On July 3, 1896, the Kaiser sent a telegram to Hohenlohe from on board his yacht in Scandinavian waters, expressing joy at the adoption by the Reichstag of a uniform civil code for the whole of the empire, saying he saw in it "a new cementing for the fatherland, now united in one empire."

The centenary of the birth of William I., March 22, 1897, was also made a great day by the Kaiser, for the purpose of promoting feelings of patriotism and common love and interest in the empire. On that day he published a decree to the army, saying:

"The country to-day commemorates the date on which, a century ago, William the Great was born, that grand ruler who, according to the will of Providence, was to lead the German people once more into longed-

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for unity, and afterwards to give himself to it as its emperor.

"When Germany's frontiers were threatened by hostile attack, her honor and independence in question, the long-divided tribes north and south met once more on common ground. The companionship-in-arms sealed in oceans of heroic blood on France's battle-fields by German hosts became the corner-stone of the new empire and of the new federation comprising forever the princes and tribes of Germany. Of this unification, the grand monument erected to its great Kaiser by the love and veneration of the German nation, and dedicated to-day,¹ honoring the father of the fatherland, is an inspiring witness. To-day's celebration will remain engraved in all hearts which beat for Germany's honor and welfare, not to be forgotten by all those who followed the victorious banners of William the Great, and who were enabled to aid him in accomplishing the task of his life.

"Specially to mark this festive day, I herewith order that henceforth my army will wear the colors of the common fatherland.² This token of unity achieved, the German colors will be given to-day and at this same hour, in accordance with the unanimous resolve of my august allies, to their troops. This token is to be a visible warning at all times to stand up for Germany's glory and greatness, to protect it with their life's blood. . . ."

To commemorate still further the achievements of his grandfather, the Kaiser also caused the distribution of

¹ The Kaiser speaks here of the national monument to William I. at Berlin, erected by popular subscription and unveiled on that day. It faces the royal castle.—ED.

² So far the different contin-

gents of the German army had only worn the respective colors of their sovereign state, the Prussian the black-and-white, the Saxon the green-and-white, the Bavarian the blue-and-white, and so forth.—ED.

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memorial medals, bearing the image of William I., in the army and among the remainder of the population, to all reputable veterans of the war of 1870-71.

At the dedication of the splendidly restored Marienburg, the ancient stronghold of the Knights of St. John, in the province of West Prussia, on June 5, 1902, the Kaiser delivered himself of another significant address, in answer to a toast proposed by Prince Albrecht of Prussia, chief master of the order. In it he severely censured the anti-German machinations of the Polish element in the population of the three eastern provinces of Prussia, saying:

“ . . . Once before I had occasion, while likewise speaking in this bulwark, the old Marienburg, to emphasize the fact that this ancient stronghold in the East, the radiating point of culture and civilization in the lands east of the Vistula, is to remain a symbol for the tasks devolving on the German race. And now we see that Polish insolence dares to attack Germanism, and I am compelled to call upon my people to defend their most sacred treasures. . . . ”

Thus the Kaiser, in his words and in his acts, constantly and strenuously upholds the principle of German unity, of greater national consolidation. In this, it may be said, he encounters, however, much dogged resistance, not so much openly as contravening him in secret. This resistance proceeds not only from a number of Germany's smaller sovereign rulers, but from large strata of the population itself, notably in Bavaria and other parts of South Germany. There cannot be room for doubt that his consistent attitude, favoring firmer cohesion of the different states making up the empire, has wrought a very perceptible change in this respect during the fifteen years of his reign.

IX

THE KAISER AND THE ALLIED GERMAN RULERS

Peculiar difficulties that stood in the way of winning their confidence — Relations with the Bavarian royal house — Those with Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse, and minor dynasties — The Kaiser's skilful use of blood relationship with a number of his allied "colleagues" — Repeated misunderstandings between him and the Bavarian house — Panegyric upon his uncle of Baden.

IN one of the earliest speeches after his accession, the Kaiser, with a perfect apprehension of the difficulties confronting him in his efforts to win the confidence and the respect of the other sovereign rulers of the empire, spoke as follows:

"It is one thing when a nonagenarian directs the government, as was the case with my late grandfather, who had an active and successful life behind him. He was the eldest of his colleagues. His counsel and advice were sought, and much was done to please him, out of sheer affection. Then along come I, barely thirty years old, and nobody knows me. I had first to win the confidence of my colleagues."

That he in the main has been successful in earning and retaining this confidence must be admitted. In doing that he accomplished something of the utmost importance for the existence and preservation of the empire, for only continued perfect accord among the

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twenty-five sovereign rulers of the empire can obviate dangerous differences, whose effect necessarily must be weakening to the whole complicated body politic.

It must be kept in mind that the empire's foundation rests upon a compact, defensive and offensive, between the Emperor as King of Prussia and the other twenty-four smaller sovereigns of Germany. The constitutional rights and prerogatives of the Emperor could not alone suffice to make such a compact effective in directing the empire's fortunes with success. A great deal depends on the personal worth of the Emperor, on his personal magnetism, his gifts of suasion, his statesman-like power to sway the minds of his "colleagues"—in a word, on his individual influence.

Among the German sovereigns the Kaiser has a number of sincere friends. Grand-duke Frederick of Baden is his maternal uncle. The late King Albert of Saxony cherished a great and unvarying affection for him. In his turn the Kaiser always showed much deference for this ablest and most conciliatory of the minor German rulers, who was also the last of the great generals of the Franco-German War. King Albert seized every opportunity to promote the sentiment of German unity, and on several conspicuous occasions acted as the national leader in the service of that idea. It was to him the Emperor Frederick, on his death-bed, warmly recommended his successor, the impetuous young Prince William. With a number of other German rulers and princes the Kaiser is allied by bonds of blood relationship, as, for instance, with the Grand-duke Ernst Louis of Hesse, with the reigning Grand-duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, with the young ruler of Saxe-Weimar, with the Regent of Brunswick (who is his uncle), with the reigning Prince of Schaumburg-Lippe, and others. These ties he has used most skillfully throughout, often dwelling on them in his toasts

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and speeches, and thereby fostering political accord as well.

It was a few months after his accession, in September, 1888, the Kaiser began his round of visits at the courts of his "colleagues." On the 28th of that month, at the gala dinner given him at the royal castle in Stuttgart, he proposed a toast to King Carl of Württemberg, saying:

" . . . I beg your Majesty to believe me when I say that it was with specially cordial sentiments I came here. For this beautiful land, and the fine race inhabiting it over which your Majesty rules, have produced during the Middle Ages many of the most glorious emperors who guided the destinies of Germany. And it draws me hither more particularly because the Suabian land was also the cradle of my house, and in my veins flows the same Suabian blood which the gentlemen here present are proud of. . . ."

A few days later he was in Munich, replying to Burgo-master Widenmayer's address of welcome with flattering references to Bavaria's important rôle in German history, and speaking of the reigning Bavarian dynasty as "intimately allied in its interests with the House of Hohenzollern."

At the royal castle in Munich, replying to Prince-Regent Luitpold, the Kaiser said:

" . . . Your Royal Highness has transferred to me, in the most magnanimous way, the tried and unbroken friendship which united you with my late grandfather. And as it was the Bavarian royal house in 1870 which took the first steps towards the regeneration of the united fatherland, so now your Royal Highness has been the first among Germany's princes

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to stretch out a hand in friendship and to offer me advice.

“ . . . Let me assure your Royal Highness that the sentiment is most sincere which impels me to pledge you my most cordial friendship, and to take the solemn vow that I shall co-operate in Hohenzollern faithfulness with the House of Wittelsbach and, with the valorous Bavarian people, cling steadfastly to them in good and evil days. . . . ”

On subsequent occasions, too, the Kaiser spoke in a similar strain, and from time to time telegrams and letters attesting mutual good-will were exchanged between Berlin and Munich. But, nevertheless, a really cordial understanding between Bavaria and Prussia and between the two respective dynasties has never been established, and evidences of that are cropping out every little while. Two such conspicuous occasions were the following: During the coronation ceremonies in Moscow, in 1895, when the present Czar, Nicholas II., was crowned, the Kaiser and a number of smaller German princes attended. It was at a banquet that a Prussian prince inadvertently made use of the term “suite,” including in it by implication the representative of Bavaria, Prince Louis, the heir-apparent, who at once indignantly spoke up, stigmatizing the word as highly improper and insulting to the sovereign allies of the Kaiser. The affair made much unpleasant stir throughout Germany, more particularly in Bavaria, where it was bitterly resented as a striking illustration of “Prussian arrogance.” Again, when the Kaiser, without awaiting a formal invitation to the Bavarian army manœuvres, attended them, a few years ago, a similar outbreak of hostile feeling was aroused in Bavaria.

The Kaiser's bitter and rancorous quarrel with the

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present Prince-Regent of Lippe-Detmold, an insignificant domain in western Germany, likewise stirred up much feeling and led to adverse criticism. The Kaiser, it is interesting to note, was worsted in that quarrel, no less a personage than his friend, King Albert of Saxony, deciding against him on every point in the court of arbitration summoned for the purpose, and Prince-Regent Ernst was confirmed in all his rights.

Meanwhile, however, the Kaiser, during the earlier part of his reign, was continuing his visits of ceremony at the different minor courts of Germany. His reception was especially cordial in Dresden, Oldenburg, Weimar, Brunswick, Darmstadt, and Carlsruhe. In Schaumburg, the heir-apparent of which is married to one of the Kaiser's sisters, he spoke of the reigning prince as "the oldest and most faithful ally of my grandfather." The Grand-duke Peter of Oldenburg he called "a faithful friend and valued confederate of my dear grandfather." In Weimar, the birthplace of his grandmother, he dwelt on "this home of the great poets of the nation," and toasted his great-uncle, Grand-duke Carl Alexander of Saxe-Weimar, in flattering phrase.

In Brunswick he answered a toast proposed by his uncle, the Prince-Regent Albrecht, by saying:

"The historical relations between our two houses have been most intimate and cordial for centuries, and our house remembers with gratitude that Brunswick's rulers, mindful of their duty as German princes and always striving to promote the greatness of our German fatherland, have risked and lost their blood and life for our house."

On June 18, 1889, Saxony celebrated the unbroken reign of its dynasty, the Wettins, for eight centuries,

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and the Kaiser attended the principal ceremony in Dresden, where he was heartily welcomed by King Albert. He toasted his host as follows:

“ . . . I know that I am one with everybody present when I say: God protect, God bless your Majesty and your entire house. . . .”

He participated in the joyous celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the reign of King Carl of Württemberg, and said that he, “like hosts of other princes and friends of the royal house,” had come to “help celebrate so auspicious an occasion.”

On August 19, 1889, the imperial couple visited the grand-ducal family of Baden, and toasted Grand-duke Frederick as “a prince to whom it had been vouchsafed to see and take his share in the unanimous rising and reunification of the great German fatherland.”

At the great army manœuvres of the Saxon contingent, in September, 1889, the Kaiser, being then a guest in the royal castle in Dresden, paid the following touching tribute to King Albert:

“It is a heavy debt I have to discharge. For many years your Majesty has cared for and advised me, with unwavering constancy and fidelity. And it was, as your Majesty knows, my late father who recommended me with particular anxiety to you, praying that you would have an eye on me in case death should claim him before his time.

“Your Majesty has heeded this prayer in the most magnanimous manner, and for many years past I have found a true friend and fatherly adviser in your Majesty. . . .”

To the Grand-duke Frederick Francis of Mecklen-

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burg-Schwerin he said, on October 1, 1889, when on a visit there with the Empress:

"Everywhere in these halls friendly and pleasant memories are awakened, memories of your Royal Highness's father and of my own grandfather, two rulers who must be reckoned with the best history tells of. We two younger ones will try to emulate these two, not alone in all the virtues that grace the ruler, but also in brotherly affection and harmony.

"I will stand by you as firmly as I know you will by me."

On December 4, 1889, at a visit paid in Dessau, at the court of Anhalt, the Kaiser spoke enthusiastically of the great ancestor of the reigning duke, one of the greatest generals under Frederick the Great, and assured him of the undying gratitude of the Prussian people.

Toasting the Grand-duke Louis IV. of Hesse, at a visit paid in Darmstadt, the Kaiser said:

". . . I was permitted to spend two years of my life here in your house, two years which I reckon among the brightest and most profitable. . . ."

At the manœuvres of the two Bavarian army corps, on September 11, 1891, the Kaiser formally thanked the Prince-Regent Luitpold for having been permitted to view "the perfectly drilled Bavarian army, ready for instant war." The Kaiser thus concluded his remarks:

"I am convinced that the Bavarian army would prove itself, in the event of war, as efficient as at Weissenburg and Sedan. This is mainly owing to the exertions of your Royal Highness and to those of the

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Bavarian princes actively serving in the army. It has given me great joy to meet and become better acquainted with the members of the Bavarian royal house on the occasion of these manoeuvres."

October 6, 1891, King Carl of Würtemberg died, and was succeeded by his nephew, King William II., who had served as an officer in the same hussar regiment of the guard corps in Potsdam in which the Kaiser himself had received a part of his military education. It is partly owing to this fact that the new ruler of Würtemberg is on much more intimate and friendly terms with the Kaiser than his predecessor ever was. On January 25, 1892, the royal couple of Würtemberg visited Berlin, and was welcomed by the Emperor in a speech in which he said:

" . . . This friendship which unites us and our countries will promote the welfare of our common fatherland. . . . "

At a banquet given after a grand military parade in Metz, on September 9, 1893, the Kaiser delivered a panegyric upon his uncle, the Grand-duke Frederick of Baden, reviewing the latter's brilliant career as a soldier during the war of 1870-71, praising his excellent thoroughness in keeping the Baden contingent of the German army abreast of the Prussian one, and according him warm commendation for his patriotism and his steadfast advocacy of unity in the empire. On September 11th, but two days later, after reviewing the 14th (Baden) Army Corps, the Kaiser lauded the Grand-duke Frederick in even more cordial terms, and did full justice to Badenese valor and military efficiency. He also dwelt in his address with special emphasis on the fact that Grand-duke Frederick had played

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a large part in the winter of 1870-71 in winning over South Germany to the idea of consolidating with the North into a united empire.

When Grand-duke Ernst Louis of Hesse followed his father in the reign, on March 13, 1892, relations between that grand-duchy and Prussia became also more intimate and pleasant, partially owing to the fact that the Grand-duke's mother¹ and the Kaiser's mother had been sisters. The Kaiser paid the court at Darmstadt a visit of some length in October, 1894, and at the banquet on the 15th he spoke in a highly flattering manner of his relations with the grand-ducal family.

To Prince Leopold of Bavaria, on the occasion of the latter's appointment as field-marshal, the Kaiser wrote, on February 16, 1896, a letter of congratulation, recalling Prince Leopold's victory over the French at Villepion, and lauding him for his unceasing efforts to increase the efficiency of the Bavarian army.

After a review of the 12th (Saxon) Army Corps, on September 3, 1896, at Zeithain, the Kaiser spoke in enthusiastic praise of the efficiency of the Saxon contingent.

On the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Grand-duke Frederick of Baden, on September 9, 1896, the Kaiser sent a warmly worded telegram to him.

On leaving Görlitz, after the big autumn army manœuvres, on September 12, 1896, the Kaiser wired to the King of Saxony a message full of appreciation for the excellent condition of the Saxon army corps, and also on the personal efforts towards that end made by King Albert and his brother, Prince George.

At the centenary celebration in honor of William I., on March 22, 1897, nearly all German sovereigns and

¹ The Grand-duke's mother was Princess Alice, a sister of the Empress Frederick.—ED.

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the immediate members of their households were assembled in Berlin. At the banquet in the royal castle the Kaiser proposed a toast in which he said:

“ . . . With a heart touched to the quick, I thank you all, my cousins, uncles, and august allies, and also the representatives of foreign sovereigns, for sharing to-day our celebration, and thereby proving anew that Europe's dynasties are united by one common tie of family affection, and that the joy and sorrow of one is the concern of all.

“It is not mine to laud to-day the undying merits of my great sire, of my late grandfather. What we have seen to-day, and the manner in which the people have participated, shows how living his achievements, how unforgotten his whole personality, stand before our eyes.

“I believe that his spirit mingles to-day with his people, and assuredly it must have visited his battle-scarred veterans and banners. We recall him in his humility, his plain simplicity, and his unflinching regard for duty. We recall him as the son of that matchless, lovely queen, and as the one who said that he had learned more by his humiliations than by all his triumphs.

“For us, my beloved relatives and princes, his memory shall be a renewed spur to live and to toil for our peoples, to join in reaching, as he did, the goal of advancing civilization and of assured peace. . . .”

At the banquet which was given in honor of the Kaiser, on September 1, 1897, in the old “Burg” of Nuremberg, whose keepers for the old German emperors were the Hohenzollerns during the early Middle Ages, the Prince-Regent Luitpold of Bavaria, referring to the successful manœuvres of the two Bavarian

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army corps, and in the presence of King Humbert of Italy and a number of German sovereigns, said a few words of welcome as host. He spoke, among other things, of the humble origin of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The Kaiser replied to this in a happy vein, saying:

“ . . . At last it was permitted me to see with my own eyes this splendid, ancient, and thoroughly German city, and to sojourn in this old stronghold, for centuries the bulwark which my ancestors, in tried and proven fidelity, kept for the German emperors. And it is with special reverence I regard these walls when I recall the fact that it is precisely in Nuremberg and in this very spot that the most intimate relations between the houses of Wittelsbach¹ and of Hohenzollern were knit. As good friends and comrades the young burgrave and the young Wittelsbach rode together in the retinue of the German Kaiser, to fight the good fight for Emperor and empire. It was the Emperor Henry VII. who knighted my own ancestor, Frederick IV., and the young Bavarian, subsequently Emperor Louis, while in camp near Rome, and this same ancestor of mine afterwards did yeoman's service in fighting faithfully at the battle of Mühldorf, helping the forebear of your Royal Highness to fasten the crown on his head. As a Nuremberger, therefore, and as burgrave, I venture to render hearty thanks to your Royal Highness, and to express the wish that the Almighty may stretch out His beneficent hand over your Royal Highness and over your whole house.”

After his return from Palestine, on November 25, 1898, the Kaiser stopped on the way home in Munich

¹ The Wittelsbach house is the Bavarian dynasty.—ED.

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and effected a compromise in a bitter controversy which had broken out relative to the establishment of a supreme military court, with jurisdiction over the whole of the empire. This settled amicably a matter about which the Bavarian press and people had become much wrought up, and the waves of Borussophobia once more calmed down in Bavaria.

On September 8, 1899, the Kaiser, after reviewing the Baden contingent of the army at Forchheim, visited the Grand-duke of Baden once more in Carlsruhe, and replied to a toast, saying:

“ . . . It was granted to the great Kaiser to find, after trials and probationary work lasting many years, those German princes whose hearts glowed with enthusiasm for the grand cause, and who held up his hands and helped him. The safest cement for the cohesion of the fatherland is joint and intelligent collaboration and the blood which has been shed in a common cause on the field of battle.”

When, on June 23, 1900, Grand-duke Peter of Oldenburg died, and his son, August, succeeded him, the Kaiser sent a condoling message and hastened to the obsequies.

On the death of Duke Alfred of Saxe-Coburg, brother of King Edward of England, on July 30, 1900, the Kaiser wired from off Heligoland, on board the *Hohenzollern*, messages of condolence and an order to his navy, in which he spoke with high appreciation of the lively interest which the deceased had taken in the development of the German navy.

The Kaiser was prevented from personally attending the festivities in Munich incident to the completed eightieth year of life of the Prince-Regent Luitpold of Bavaria, he being sadly disfigured at the time by an

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injury to his eye and cheek, owing to a heavy piece of iron flung at him by a lunatic in Bremen. But he did not fail to telegraph congratulations, and to send the Crown-prince in his own stead.

Quite recently the Kaiser once more incurred the ill-will of the Bavarian people, owing to the fact that he offered, out of his own purse, to make good the deficiency in the Bavarian budget in the matter of an annual stipend for the encouragement of art in that country, which the Clericals there had rejected for party purposes. The Bavarian press raged for many weeks, and told the Kaiser plainly to keep his hands off Bavarian internal affairs. In his relations with the Bavarian dynasty, however, the incident wrought no perceptible change for the worse.

On April 27, 1901, the Kaiser visited Weimar, where the young Grand-duke William Ernst, just attained to the throne, welcomed him, and the Kaiser replied in a neat speech, dwelling on the blood relationship with his family, and on the permanent influence for good upon German literature and science which the little grand-duchy had had in Germany.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of the Grand-duke Frederick of Baden, which fell on April 26, 1902, the Kaiser again delivered himself of a fine address, in which he did ample justice to his uncle as a ruler and man.

On June 16, 1902, the semi-centenary of the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg took place, and the imperial couple, as well as several German sovereigns and many scientists, attended. The Kaiser spoke in his happiest vein on that occasion, giving, in terse and graphic style, a rapid survey of Germanic culture and political development.

Three days later, June 19th, King Albert of Saxony died after a lingering illness. The Kaiser happened to

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be away on an extensive tour in the Rhine country, but while in Wesel, on the 21st, he paid his life-long friend and mentor a glowing tribute in a speech delivered to the citizens of that ancient town on the lower Rhine. He then postponed his promised visit to the Düsseldorf Exposition, and hastened to Dresden to participate in the funeral ceremonies.

Thus it will be seen that the Kaiser systematically, studiously, and skilfully has seized upon every chance to render first the complicated and rather delicate relations existing between him as Kaiser and as King of Prussia and the German sovereigns as intimate and friendly as possible, and then to keep them so. The task is one requiring great tact, patience, and vigilance, and in the main he has been amazingly successful, certainly in a far higher degree than his grandfather ever was. It is a task, too, which takes up a relatively large portion of his time and energies, but it was worth all it cost in that, for on a close understanding and on full and mutual confidence between the Kaiser and the other German sovereigns, his "colleagues," depends, indeed, in large measure the coherence of the empire as a whole.

X

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His exceedingly intimate relations with it — Rejuvenation process—His letter to Moltke—The Kaiser's attempts to uproot extravagance in the army—Partial reorganization and enlargement of the army—A telegram praising the Poles of Prussia—His speeches to the recruits—The Kaiser's characterization of the socialists—His decree to limit duelling in the army—His conception of a "good soldier"—Calling the army "the most important legacy left" by his grandfather—Reviving military traditions—His order prohibiting gaming and usury in the army—Beginning the century a year in advance—The peculiar class spirit bred in the army by the Kaiser—Revolutionary reminiscences.

It needs, indeed, no emphasizing of the fact that the German army and his relations with it mean much for the Kaiser. Whether his estimate of its importance to him and to the existence of the empire is a just one, or whether he attaches an exaggerated value to it, is a mooted question. At any rate, his estimate of it has been recorded by himself on many occasions, and one of his main efforts, and the most persistent and unbending one, has been ever since his accession to keep this mighty instrument and token of sovereign power not only in as good a condition as his grandfather left it, but steadily to render it stronger and more trenchant. He has not only doubled it in size, but he has improved in many ways on the original, introducing reforms and innovations, and encouraging a more warlike spirit in rank and file.

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On February 8, 1888, the Reichstag had passed, with singular unanimity, the army increase bill, the leader of the Ultramontane Centre party, Baron Frankenstein, in answer to one of Bismarck's most eloquent and forceful speeches, relinquishing the right of debate to facilitate and hasten its adoption. The old Emperor, William I., lay dying, and his last hours were made more peaceful by the nation's patriotic attitude, for such prompt and self-sacrificing action augured well for Germany's success in a new war, if war it was to be, of which at that time there seemed to be little doubt. It was known that an understanding existed between Alexander III. and France, and Russia's armies stood, in concentrated hosts, massed and ready for action on the German frontier.

Within a few months after this the imperial and the Prussian throne had been twice vacated and twice refilled, and the influence of these rapid changes upon the German army had been quite palpable.

Even during the brief three months' reign of the Emperor Frederick a number of changes had been wrought. The cuirassier regiments were ordered to doff their heavy and impractical steel coats; the entire cavalry had to adopt the lance as a weapon of war; a new drill regulation was decreed, and many alterations were made in the rules about garrison service. Many other innovations were set afoot.

Both of the new Kaisers rapidly reorganized the corps of officers in the army. During the remainder of the year 1888—*i. e.*, within nine months after the death of William I.—no fewer than 65 generals and 156 staff-officers were retired. Of the 14 army corps under Prussian direction, 8 received new commanders, of 33 divisions 22, and of 100 infantry and cavalry brigades 52. On August 3, 1888, Moltke, the senile chief and brain of the whole army, also handed in his res-

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ignation as head of the great general staff, and the young Kaiser accepted it, though in the most touching and conciliatory form. In Moltke's stead came Count Waldersee. The Kaiser said in his letter to the old field-marshal:

"In your letter of the 3d inst. you indicate, with a lucidity and unselfishness which have illumined your whole life, the necessity of a resolve whose justice I unfortunately dare not dispute, yet whose meaning is so far-reaching and weighty that I can only partially accede to your request. . . . I cannot miss your counsel so long as you are alive, and I must retain you in the army, which will always look up to you with unlimited confidence. . . ."

The Kaiser, therefore, while granting the request of the ninety-year-old hero to take off his shoulders the burden and grave responsibility of his position as active chief of the great general staff, imposed upon his successor in that office the duty of advising with and seeking the counsel of the aged Count Moltke at every important step, and intrusted to him the chairmanship of the commission for national defence.

When Moltke soon after celebrated his ninetieth birthday, amid national rejoicings, the Kaiser presented him with a diamond-incrusted field-marshal's baton, a perfect work of art and valued at twenty-five thousand dollars, and conferred special honors on him. In the presence of the generals of the whole German army and of a number of princes and sovereigns, he addressed the veteran with every mark of conspicuous veneration, and ordered, as a sign of the highest favor of his liege, that the bullet-torn and powder-singed banners of the guard corps be left that day in Moltke's ante-

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chamber, a prerogative at all other times solely inherent in the monarch.

On April 25, 1891, late in the evening, the old field-marshal died a calm and painless death, and the Kaiser, who was absent in Weimar, wired to the family:

“The blow has dazed me. Am hastening back home. Please consult, meanwhile, Hahnke¹ about funeral arrangements. Have lost an army in him, and cannot yet comprehend it.

WILLIAM I. R.”

The day after the Kaiser issued a cabinet order, in which he spoke of the “irretrievable loss which my army and the whole German fatherland have suffered,” and in which he pithily characterized the deceased in these words:

“Till the last breath the deceased has served, in modest simplicity, in unselfish fulfilment of duty, and in unswerving fidelity, my glorious sires and myself, and has earned imperishable merits for the renown of the army and the fatherland’s welfare, by his matchless capacity and his brilliant achievements, in victorious wars as well as during the calm of peace. The country’s gratitude will ever follow him.”

On the Kaiser’s birthday, January 27, 1889, he conferred, as a token of special satisfaction and confidence, distinctive appellations, chosen from the names of famous Prussian generals, upon a number of regiments and battalions. On that day, too, as he let the army know in an *ordre du jour*, he caused the army banners, until then still guarded in the death-chamber of the old emperor, William I., to be thence conveyed,

¹ Lieutenant-General von Hahnke, chief of the Emperor’s private military cabinet.—ED.

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under appropriate ceremonies, to his own quarters in the royal castle in Berlin. The order recited, in terms of filial piety, the virtues and deeds of his grandfather, and called upon the entire army to emulate them.

The famous dragoon regiment "Schwedt" commemorated, on April 24, 1889, the bicentenary of its existence, and the Kaiser delivered himself of an address in which he reminded the regiment of its glorious past, and specially of the great day at Kollin, when, under Frederick the Great's command, it had greatly distinguished itself.

During the luncheon given the Kaiser by the officers of the King's Uhlan Regiment in Hanover, on December 13, 1889, the monarch said, among other things:

" . . . Times have changed. Nowadays it is necessary for the cavalry to fight with other weapons. This regiment has materially aided in effecting a remodeling and a modification in the armament of the entire cavalry, the lance being added. Again and again the reports which I called for from the army on that score mentioned with particular praise the splendid achievements which this regiment attained with the lance during the last great campaign. . . . Your regiment may justly be proud of the fact that it has *quasi* served as the model for our entire cavalry. . . . In the hope that the regiment will show the same dash and valor when it again meets the foe, I raise my glass and shout: My regiment—long may it live and flourish!"

On February 15, 1890, the Kaiser issued a cabinet order dealing with an abuse of power which had for some time crept into the army. It was addressed to the Minister of War, and said:

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“ . . . In my army every soldier is to be treated according to law, justly and humanely. Only thus is it possible to inspire him with zeal and devotion to duty and love and respect for his superiors.”

This order had been directly occasioned by the fact that Prince George of Saxony, in his capacity of military inspector of a large part of the Prussian army, had remarked the prevalence of cruel and brutal treatment of soldiers by their superiors, especially by the subaltern and non-commissioned officers, and had drawn the Kaiser's attention to the fact in his reports. The Kaiser's repeated directions have, however, not done away with this evil, as many trials and incidents in the recent past have proven.

Even more sensational was another cabinet order of the Kaiser's, dated March 29, 1890, which dealt with another evil become very noticeable in the German army. The document read:

“Not alone nobility of birth can to-day, as it did formerly, exclusively entitle to the prerogative of furnishing the officers for my army. But the nobility of character, which has at all times distinguished our officers, must be, now more than ever, insisted upon in such appointments. And that is only possible if the aspirants for officers' places are taken solely from those strata of the population with whom nobility of character and a high conception of life are at home. Next to the scions of noble families of the country, and next to the sons of my honorable officers and officials, who form, in accord with ancient tradition, the corner-stone and fundamental pillars of my corps of officers, I consider that the future of my army rests also on the sons of such estimable citizen families with whom the reverence for king and fatherland, a

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cordial appreciation of the soldier's profession, and Christian culture are nurtured and cherished. . . .

" . . . I disapprove of making entrance into the corps of army officers conditional on exorbitantly high home allowances, which would exclude the sons of families but moderately blessed with worldly goods, but in similarity of conceptions and sympathies closely kin to my corps of officers. . . .

" . . . I strongly disapprove the idea that any officer in my army is to be estimated according to the size of the allowance granted him from home. On the contrary, I rank in my mind those regiments the highest whose officers know how to do their full duty, joyously and with alacrity, and who nevertheless receive but modest allowances from their families. This is in accord with old Prussian traditions. . . .

" . . . I desire with all my heart that my officers, duty done, enjoy life. But the growing luxury in the army must be opposed seriously and persistently." ¹

During 1890 the strength of the German army on a peace footing was again increased. The warlike clouds on the horizon, especially in the direction of Russia and France, made this necessary. The Kaiser pointed this out in his speech from the throne on the opening of the Reichstag, May 6th. The nation's representatives acted promptly on the hint, and on October 1st of the same year the new order of things went into effect.

After a parade of the 5th Army Corps, at Liegnitz, on September 15th, the Kaiser dwelt in a speech on the historical reminiscences which the locality awakened,

¹ The salaries and other perquisites paid to all German officers below the rank of colonel are so low that the possession of a private fortune, a wealthy wife, or a regular and assured money allowance from the family, varying between twenty and one hundred dollars per month, is absolutely essential.—ED.

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Field-marshal Blücher having won a great battle over the French there in 1813; and then, turning to one of the regiments present, the Grenadiers King William I., he said, referring to its splendid record in recent campaigns:

“Particularly must I mention one day, the day of Weissenburg,¹ where the regiment had the satisfaction of fighting against a brave foe, one who defended himself desperately, and to take his almost impregnable positions by storm and thus win the engagement. It was there where the regiment, under the eyes of my father, received its first grand baptism of fire, and where my father had the sad joy to catch in his arms Major von Kaisenberg, mortally wounded, and to imprint on his dying lips a kiss of parting.

“These are incidents which are recorded in our history in imperishable characters, and especially in the history of this regiment and of this corps.

“I trust that the spirit, the discipline, and the devotion by which this corps shone during the last wars will again shine forth in later times, in war as in peace. . . .”

New banners and standards were given the newly created regiments in the following year, 1891, and on April 18th the ceremony of nailing these symbols to their staffs was performed by the Kaiser at the royal castle in Berlin. On that day he said:

“*Pro gloria et patria.* That is the superscription of the day. It is a day of reminiscence and of patriotic sentiment, of courage and of confidence, which never have forsaken Prussia and her army.

¹ At the opening of the war of 1870-71.—ED.

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“If I speak to-day for our whole country, it is because I recall that three hundred and seventy years ago, on another 18th of April, that fearless Wittenberg monk spoke his great words: ‘Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise, so help me God!’ And the first who took an interest in the undaunted monk was a man of war, Georg Frundsberg, who shouted to him: ‘Monklin, monklin, thou’rt on a desperate errand!’ But God blessed this errand of his, for the good of our nation, and particularly of our part of it.

“Many a similar errand have our nation and our house and with it the Prussian army done. The 18th of April has always been rife with meaning for us. On April 18, 1417, Burgrave Frederick I. received the Mark Brandenburg as an imperial fief. On April 18, 1864, Prince Frederick Charles led the Prussian and the Austrian troops against a brave foe at Düppeln, and furnished them the opportunity to wrest these fortifications away from the valorous adversary. . . . The soldier and the army, and not parliamentary majorities nor parliamentary resolutions, have welded together the German Empire. My trust is in the army. The times are serious, those in which we live, and dark days perhaps await us in the years to come. But against that I put the words of my late grandfather in the presence of the officers in Coblenz: ‘These are the gentlemen,’ he said, ‘on whom I can rely.’ That is likewise my faith and my trust. And whatever may happen, we will hold untarnished our traditions and our flag, mindful of the saying of Albrecht Achilles,¹ ‘I know of no more reputable spot to die in than in the midst of my foes.’ That, too, is what my heart tells me, and therein lies my unshakable confidence: in the fidelity, the courage, and the devotion of my army.”

¹Albrecht Achilles, one of the ablest of the Hohenzollern margraves of Brandenburg.—ED.

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At the jubilee of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the engineer battalion No. 3, at Torgau, on November 25, 1891, the Kaiser made a speech in which he mentioned that one of his own military instructors, Lieutenant-Colonel Diener, had been of that branch of the service, and had come from that very battalion, and then continued:

“The spirit of the battalion is the good old Prussian one. It is my desire and my hope that this will remain so. . . . Recent developments in the art of war demand a new technique in the construction of fortifications. You must keep your eyes on that goal, firmly, steadfastly, and without preconceived opinions. I do not doubt that if the time should come again for the battalion to do deeds as at Schweidnitz, Düppel, and Alsen, it will add new laurels to the wreath of warlike glories encircling the Prussian army. And the heroism of Klinke¹ and his comrades, some of whom still belong to the engineer department, has become the model and the symbol for the later generations of the battalion. . . .”

The continuation of rather strained relations with Russia and France, and Germany's anxiety that these two powers were steadily moving in the direction of an offensive war with her, in which the young empire would have to face, single-handed, these two formidable military powers, were understood to be the reason why in 1892 another bill was framed by the Kaiser's advisers and introduced into the Reichstag—a bill providing for

¹ While storming the Düppel fortifications, during the war with Denmark in 1863-64, a private of the engineer corps named Klinke blew up a palisade that retarded the progress of the storming columns, and belonging to Bastion No. 2, by pushing a sack of powder under it and then igniting it. By this deed he deliberately sacrificed his life. This was one of the most picturesque and thrilling incidents of that war.—ED.

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another increase in Germany's army. The new imperial chancellor, General Count Caprivi, on the 27th of November of that year stated before the Reichstag the government's reasons for presenting this bill; but five days earlier, in his speech from the throne, the Kaiser himself had rather tersely put the case to the delegates. Without being downright bellicose, it was calculated to create alarm and to rouse German patriotic spirit. He said:

"... The development of the military forces of other European countries makes it our serious, nay, imperative, duty promptly to take measures looking to the increase of our own defensive powers. . . . The allied governments present to you, therefore, for acceptance a bill which, while containing provisions for an increase of our peace strength, will enable us fully to utilize our armed forces. In so doing they do not undervalue the sacrifice which you are expected to make in behalf of the nation, but, with me, they trust that the vital necessity of this sacrifice will be recognized more and more generally, and that the patriotism of our people will make them willing to assume those burdens which the honor and safety of the fatherland demand. . . .

"Gentlemen, in inviting you to begin your sessions, I do so knowing that it needs no special urging to conduct the debates in a manner compatible with your love of country. The firm will of the nation to preserve the inheritance left it by our fathers, to safeguard peace, and to maintain those sacred trusts confided to our beloved country, will lead you, I am quite confident, into the paths designated by me and my august allies. If that be done, the empire will be able to proceed calmly on its way, trusting in God and in its own strength."

However, this time the passage of the new military

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increase bill was no easy matter. There were stormy scenes in the Reichstag, and it looked like a foregone conclusion that the opposition would be strong enough, on mustering its adherents, to defeat the measure in the end. On New Year's Day, 1893, the Kaiser, at the customary reception given by him to the generals of the army, spoke very sharply about proceedings in the Reichstag. He used the term that he "would crush the opposition." At the final vote on the bill, May 6th, it was rejected by two hundred and ten against one hundred and sixty-two. Thereupon the Kaiser dissolved the obstreperous body and appealed to the country. The election took place in the middle of the following month. Meanwhile, however, three days after the dissolution of the Reichstag, the Kaiser, after an inspection of a large body of troops on the Tempelhof field, near Berlin, spoke to his generals and staff officers about his disappointment, saying he hoped for the passage of the bill by a new Reichstag, concluding:

"But if this hope should be deceived, I am resolved to do all that is humanly possible in order to attain my end. For I am fully convinced that this military increase bill must be adopted if we are to maintain peace. . . . I know that I am in this matter of one mind with the other sovereign rulers of Germany, with the people, and with the army."

The election, however, went favorably to the Kaiser's wishes, and the newly chosen delegates passed the bill on July 15th, even the Polish delegates voting for it. To the leader of the Poles, De Koscielski, the Kaiser sent a telegram of thanks, saying:

"I thank you and your countrymen for your fidelity towards me and my house. Let it be a model for all."

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The Italian Crown-prince, now King Victor Emmanuel, witnessed the great fall manoeuvres of the German army that year, and after a brilliant parade, in honor of Sedan Day, on September 2, 1893, near Treves, the distinguished guests and their host went by rail to Coblentz, where, at the banquet, the Kaiser made a speech, in which he dwelt with emphasis and at some length on the life and the long residence in Coblentz of his grandmother, the Empress Augusta. One of the passages, reverting to the outbreak of the war of 1870, was as follows:

“ . . . I distinctly recall the day you marched forth. With eyes wet with tears, and with her blessing, she dismissed you and called to the officers that no matter what might happen, they were always to feel and conduct themselves as her sons. And when the regiment, on the evening of the bloody day of St. Privat, after a dearly purchased victory, had left three-fourths of its officers slain or wounded on the battle-field, those who had remained alive sent to her Majesty, for themselves and for those now lying dead, the message that they had been faithful to their oath and pledge as sons of their mother, and that they had done their duty. . . . ”

Some characteristic utterances were made by the Kaiser on October 18, 1894, when the ceremony of the nailing and religious dedication of the one hundred and thirty-two new flags and standards made necessary by the army increase took place. It was done in the Hall of Glories, in Berlin, the day being further memorable as the anniversary of the birth of his father, the Emperor Frederick. He spoke of his ancestor Frederick the Great, and then passed on to the time of 1861. He said:

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“Just as then, in 1861, when my grandfather set about the task of reorganizing the army, he was misunderstood by many, and opposed by still more, yet was justified by those who came later; as then, so now, discord and distrust rule among the people. The only pillar on which our empire rested was the army. And so to-day. . . .”

Another military address of his which was severely criticised was the one to the recruits, on having the oath of obedience administered to them, November 15, 1894. He remarked:

“After the oath you have just sworn, I salute you as my soldiers. If you want to become good soldiers you must become good Christians and must have religion in your hearts. As soldiers of my guards you are now wearing a uniform specially honoring you. Do not forget that you wear the coat of your king. Honor that coat, and keep in mind that you have been deemed worthy to discharge your service before my eyes, and that by entering the army you have become nobles. Now gaze upon the flags in front of you, each connected with a glorious page in your country’s history. Do not allow them to be slandered. Remember the statues of the kings and military chiefs which now look down upon you. Remember the oath you have sworn. Then you will be good soldiers. Do not forget that you are chosen for defenders of the fatherland, and that it is your duty to protect order and religion in the land. And now go and discharge your service taught you at my orders.”

During 1895 the quarter-century anniversaries of the various battles that occurred during the war of 1870-71 were kept with more or less military pageant and splen-

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dor. The battle of St. Privat, one of the most important and hard-fought of all, was commemorated on August 15th by the Kaiser by a gala parade of the first brigade of the guards. He said to them:

"... The colors of my house shall henceforth fly before the regiment, as a renewed warning to keep your sworn faith with me and mine, as you have hitherto always done. . . .

"... And should it be again required of you to go, as part of my army, to protect the boundaries of the fatherland, I count on it that the first brigade of the guards will fight with the same devotion and fidelity which it showed at St. Privat, twenty-five years ago."

On the Tempelhof field, on August 19th, the Kaiser reviewed fourteen thousand veterans of the war, and then spoke to them in stirring, patriotic fashion.

Sedan Day was, of course, likewise kept on September 2d, the whole guard corps, twenty-five thousand strong, parading in the presence of the Kaiser and of his chief guest, King Albert of Saxony, as well as of King William II. of Württemberg. At the banquet the Kaiser spoke at some length.

He reviewed in graphic, pregnant sentences the days that had led up to the downfall of Napoleon III. at Sedan, and then said:

"... Bravely the foe battled for his laurels. For his Emperor, too, and for his glorious past, fought he with the courage of despair. For his all, his hearth and home, and for national consolidation, fought the German. Hence, too, it touches us to the quick that every one who has worn the Emperor's coat in those days or who still wears it, is specially honored by the

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nation when this memorial day comes around once more: one single, upflaming rush of gratitude for Emperor William I.! And for us, in particular for us younger ones, the task is to preserve what the Emperor founded, what he won.

“But into the mighty current of joy and elation a tone obtrudes itself which surely has no place there. A horde of men, unworthy to bear the name of Germans, dares to slander the German people, dares to besmirch the sacred person of the universally venerated old Emperor. May the people in their might find the strength to repel such unheard-of attacks!¹ If it is not done—well, I will call upon you, in defence against this traitorous throng, to wage a war which will rid us of such elements.”

This speech, delivered before the representatives of the empire and of the army, wound up with a toast to the guard corps, and to its leader in 1870-71, King Albert of Saxony.

At the memorial celebration on account of the battle of Le Bourget, held by the sharp-shooters' battalion of the Guards, on October 30th, the Kaiser spoke of the work done by his grandfather in implanting in the German army

“... the three cardinal virtues of the soldier: the sentiment of honor, blind and unquestioning obedience, and a courage superior to all difficulties. If this be further maintained in this battalion—nay, in the whole

¹This singular speech, it seems, was occasioned by an article in the main socialist organ, the *Vorwärts*, that morning, in which the prevailing style of adulation in reference to the late Emperor William I., such as the Kaiser

himself had particularly cultivated for some time, was condemned, and the merits of that monarch in respect of national unity, etc., critically examined, though in a rather malevolent spirit.—ED.

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army—we can face with equanimity every situation which may arise in the future.”

The Kaiser's own cuirassier regiment, in Breslau, kept on December 2d the battle-day of Loigny, and on that occasion again the monarch attended. He said in his speech that it had given him great pleasure that all through the empire during the past five months the memory of the army's great achievements in the last war had not been permitted to die out, but that the rank and file of the army, as well as the whole nation, had shown an admirable and unanimous enthusiasm in recalling those heroic days. Then he continued:

“ . . . And the more catch-phrases and party considerations are allowed to interfere with this, the more I rely and count upon my army, and the more decidedly do I hope that my army will promptly obey the slightest of my wishes and commands, whether it be against internal or external foes. . . .”

On September 7, 1896, the Czar and the Kaiser met in Breslau, and on an immense neighboring plain, the Moyser field, a gala parade of the Prussian 5th Army Corps took place in the presence of these two monarchs, and of a large number of smaller sovereigns and distinguished personages of every kind. At the banquet which was subsequently given in Görlitz, the Kaiser referred in a flattering manner to his guest, the Czar, saying:

“ . . . Because of the presence to-day of his Majesty the Czar of Russia, it was a special pleasure to me to review this corps in such excellent condition. . . . He, the commander-in-chief of the mightiest armies, yet desires to employ his troops solely in the service of civ-

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ilization and for the safeguarding of peace. In perfect accord with myself, his purpose is to bring all the nations of Europe closer together, and to consolidate them for the defence of our most sacred possessions on the basis of our common interests. . . .”

On New Year's Day, 1897, the Kaiser issued a cabinet order the professed purpose of which was to restrain and reduce the prevalence of the duelling custom in army circles. In it he said:

“I demand that stricter preventive measures be adopted in regard to duelling between my officers. The causes leading to them are often of a trivial nature, such as private controversies and such offensive remarks as might be amicably adjusted without reflecting on professional honor.

“Officers must be brought to see that it is wrong to infringe on the honor of another. If he has acted in haste or in momentary excitement, he acts but honorably by admitting himself in the wrong, and offering to settle the matter in friendly fashion. And not less is it proper for him who has met with an injury, or who has been offended, to accept the hand of reconciliation, in so far as professional honor and good-breeding admit.

“It is, therefore, my will that councils of honor henceforth co-operate in the settlement of affairs of honor. Such councils are to discharge this duty with a conscientious effort to bring about an amicable understanding.”

The effect of this order has not been as great as the German Liberal press at the time expected, but it has borne at least some fruit, since the number of duels in the army has somewhat decreased of late years.

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At the centenary celebration of the King Grenadiers at Liegnitz, June 16, 1897, the Kaiser spoke to the corps of officers, in the regimental barracks, about the historical occasions on which the regiment had distinguished itself, and commended especially the soldierly spirit which had always characterized it. Then he added:

" . . . This spirit, and I trust you will nourish and preserve it, exists also, God be praised! in the whole army, and the more it will be cultivated the more efficient the army will be and remain. For the chief strength of the army is the power and force of tradition, and tradition lives with unusual potency in this regiment. It is the force of tradition which, in peace as on the field of battle, makes the heart beat faster for king and fatherland, and which inspires it to deeds of glory. . . ."

At the big Kaiser manœuvres in Homburg, September 4, 1897, which were also attended by the Duke of Cambridge, the King of Italy, and a number of German sovereigns, the Kaiser made a political speech, lauding the Triple Alliance as a guarantee of peace.

Facing the historic monument of Frederick the Great in Berlin, sixty-three new flags were handed over, with impressive ceremonies, to the commanders and delegations of the new regiments, on October 17, 1897, the anniversary of the great battle of Leipzig, marking the first downfall of Napoleon I. The Kaiser spoke in a patriotic vein, concluding as follows:

" . . . May these new regiments perpetuate the chief characteristics of our great Kaiser: unselfish devotion to the whole, and the full employment of all faculties, body and soul, for the glory of the army and the safety of the beloved fatherland. . . ."

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To the recruits of the large Potsdam garrison, on November 16, 1897, in administering the military oath, the Kaiser said:

“Whoever is no thorough Christian is no thorough man. Neither is he a good Prussian soldier, and he cannot fulfil all those requirements which are made of him as a soldier in the Prussian army. For your duties are no easy ones. They demand self-denial and self-control, the highest Christian virtues. They demand absolute obedience and subordination under the will of your superiors.”

At the completion of the first ten years of his reign, on June 15, 1898, the Kaiser assembled all his body troops in the royal park of Potsdam, the Lustgarten, and said to them:

“The most important legacy left me by my grandfather and father is the army, and with joy and pride have I accepted it. To the army my first decree was issued on ascending the throne. To the army I now again address myself on entering upon the second millennium of my reign. . . .

“Rarely, I believe, has so trying a time passed over the head of a ruler as over mine during these last ten years—I, who saw my grandfather and father die, to my deep sorrow, within so short a space of time. With grave anxiety I placed the crown upon my head. Everywhere I met doubt, and the whole world misjudged me. But one had confidence in me; but one believed in me—that was the army. And relying upon the army, and trusting in God, I began my reign, knowing well that the army is the main tower of strength for my country, the main pillar supporting the Prussian throne, to which God in His wisdom had called me. . . .

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"We will continue to work together for the next ten years, bound to each other in the same faith, fulfilling our duty with the same absolute fidelity and with never-slackening toil. And may the foundation of our army remain unshaken: courage, honor, and unquestioning, iron, blind obedience. That is the wish I address to-day to you and to the whole army."

At the outset of the succeeding year, 1899, the Kaiser deemed it wise to order the revival of the traditional names, customs, and some separate soldierly peculiarities which had formerly existed within the regiments of the provinces of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel, and which had been wiped out when these provinces were annexed to Prussia in 1866 and their contingents incorporated with the Prussian army. In the army order of January 24th the Kaiser gave his reasons for instituting these changes, and on Waterloo Square, in the city of Hanover, surrounded by the officers of the 10th (the Hanoverian) Army Corps, he addressed them. At the luncheon which followed in the officers' casino of the Prince Albrecht Fusileers, the Kaiser pointed out that his main motive in restoring the "traditions" of the Hanoverian contingent was his abiding faith in the efficacy of traditions in the different parts of an army.

A similarly worded order reached the 11th (Hessian) Army Corps.

A highly sensational trial, in which a number of professional usurers and their—in some cases highly connected—accomplices were criminally prosecuted and convicted, and in which scores of army officers were involved, a series of high-life scandals growing out of it, had laid bare one of the worst failings in the German army—the prevalence of indebtedness to "army usurers" and the unclean practices in vogue with them.

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The Kaiser, therefore, on February 23, 1899, issued the following order to the army:

“Late occurrences have shown me again the frequency of dishonest but alluring offers made by professional money-lenders to the officers of my army. The carelessness of youth, and inexperience in financial affairs, bring it about that opportunities thus offered often mark the first step towards serious embarrassment—nay, worse, complete ruin. I demand the use of every means to keep such temptations away from my officers. My previous order of July 5, 1888, must remain before every officer’s eyes as the expression of my deliberate will. I herewith ordain that henceforth each and every officer is bound to report to his superiors all offers of shady money transactions which shall reach him. . . .”

On the anniversary of Waterloo, June 18, 1899, the Kaiser received in Kiel, on board the *Hohenzollern*, a delegation of former Hanoverian army officers, who presented him, as a token of their appreciation of his January order (alluded to above), a miniature reproduction in silver of the Waterloo column in Hanover. The Kaiser replied to their spokesmen at some length, diving into reminiscences of the days of Waterloo. He invited the delegation to dinner on board his yacht, and toasted them and their old comrades as follows:

“In perfect accord with the Hanoverian regiments who are to-day assembled in their garrisons to celebrate, by my direction, the anniversary of the great day of Waterloo, and with my English dragoons, I empty this glass to the memory of the old Hanoverian army and to the future of my present Hanoverian regiments.”

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By the Kaiser's orders the commencement of the twentieth century was fixed and celebrated in Germany on January 1, 1900. On that day a military divine service was held in the huge inner square of the Hall of Glories in Berlin, and at a certain point in it the Kaiser addressed the assembled corps of officers as follows:

"The first day of the new century sees our army—that is, our nation in arms—grouped around their banners, bending the knee to the Lord of hosts. And truly, if anybody have special cause to bend down before God, it is our army.

"A glance at our flags here suffices for explanation, for they embody our history. How did the dawn of the past century find our army?

"The glorious soldiers of Frederick the Great had fallen asleep on their laurels, ossified in the trivial details of a senseless, antiquated drill; led by superannuated, unready, and unwarlike generals; their officers no longer used to serious work, and degenerated by luxury, sloth, and blind self-glorification. In a word, the army no longer sufficed for its task. It had forgotten it. Severe was the punishment meted out to it by Heaven, a punishment which likewise chastised our people. Thrown into the dust were we. Frederick's fame paled, and his glorious banners were broken. In the seven long years of our hard servitude God taught our people to gather new strength. Under the iron pressure of the insolent conqueror's heel, our people in bitter travail of spirit conceived the high thought that it is greatest honor to devote life and property in military service to the fatherland.

"My great-grandfather gave form and substance to this conception. New laurels crowned the new-born army and its banners. But it was through my grand-

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father, our great, our dead Emperor, that general military service became a full, a living reality. In quiet, persistent labor he drafted his system of reorganization, out of which, despite all opposition which misapprehension caused, grew our army of to-day. Victorious campaigns, however, crowned his labors in unexpected fulness.

“His spirit pervaded the rank and file of his armies, and his trust in God led them on to matchless victories. With this, his own creation, he at length drew together again the tribes of Germany, and he gave us back longed-for German unity. To him we owe it that through this army the German Empire, honored by all, once more occupies its destined and appropriate position in the council of nations. It is your part, gentlemen, to manifest during the new century the old qualities by which our sires have made the army great and invincible—simplicity and plainness in your style of living, absolute devotion to the service of the King, fullest utilization of all your strength and gifts, both of body and soul, in ceaseless toil for the development and drilling of our troops.

“And as my grandfather did for the army, so, too, I mean to continue for my navy, in spite of all discouragement and misconceptions, the work of development, in order that the navy shall be, side by side with my army, of equal power and strength, and thus achieve for the German Empire at home and abroad that position which we as yet have not attained.

“Jointly with both I hope to be one day in condition, trusting fully in the aid of God, to realize the saying of Frederick William I.: ‘If one wishes to decide something in this world, it is not the pen alone that will do it if unsupported by the power of the sword.’”

To the whole army the Kaiser issued an *ordre du*

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jour, in which he, in picturesque and powerfully stirring language, followed about the same train of reasoning.

At the swearing-in of the recruits in Berlin, on November 7, 1900, the Kaiser spoke briefly, again dwelling, as on former similar occasions, on their dual duty—fight and conquer the enemy within and without.

Quite sensational were the contents of a speech he made to the Emperor Alexander Regiment of the guard corps, when, on March 28, 1901, he personally conducted them from their old barracks in a distant part of Berlin to their new quarters near the royal castle. The press of Berlin had already called attention to the fact that the new barracks of this famous regiment had been constructed with a solidity of masonry and in a style that made it virtually a fortress and almost impregnable, the outer walls, crenellated on top, resembling casemates, and being everywhere loop-holed for the use of guns and rifles from within—in a word, very different from any other barracks in the city. But the Kaiser's address that day, delivered impressively in the centre of the huge inner court, capped the climax and aroused universal comment throughout Germany. He said:

“Alexandriners, for your regiment a new chapter of its history opens with to-day. What you have left behind you to-day in memories will take new life here—memories of the most beautiful days of peace and memories of the hottest days of carnage. Like a powerful stronghold your new barracks rise in the immediate vicinity of my castle, whose protection at any and all times will be your first prerogative. The Emperor Alexander Regiment has been chosen, in a sense, as my body-guard, to be ready to sacrifice its life's blood, day and night, for the King and his house, whenever

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you are called upon to do so. And if ever again a time should come in this town, as when, in rebellion against the King, the rabble rose up,¹ I am confident that the Alexander Regiment will succeed in energetically quenching all such disobedience and improper conduct towards their royal master. . . .”

These remarks strikingly illustrate an attitude of the Kaiser's mind—namely, so far as the socialist and liberal radical aspirations in Germany are concerned. He is aware of the strong admixture in the rank and file of his army of men who hold advanced political views, and he tries to keep them in check by completely controlling the mental life of his soldiers and by subjecting the socialists among them to the overweening influence of the thoroughly loyal majority of their comrades. Besides, he is often roused to fury by the steady growth of socialism in numbers and influence, and believes the socialist party capable, despite their frequent public assurances to the contrary, of inaugurating another revolutionary rising in Germany if they are given the chance. As the above speech was delivered without notes and evidently on the spur of the moment, it appears an interesting sample of the inner and uncloaked workings of his mind.

This much, however, is beyond question, that the Kaiser had succeeded, during the fifteen years of his

¹The Kaiser refers here to the fact that during the Berlin rising in 1848, forming an integral part of the general and successful revolutionary movement throughout Germany for the obtaining of constitutional boundaries to monarchic institutions, the Emperor Alexander Regiment was one of the few Prussian regiments in Berlin which remained firmly attached to the royal cause and as against the popular cause. It was noted for the fierceness with which it fought the people during the street and barricade fights in Berlin, which lasted for several days, and were only ended by the order of the Prussian king, Frederick William IV., the present Kaiser's great-uncle, for the troops to withdraw.—Ed.

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reign, in securing a degree of intimacy with his army, and of control over its every part, such as no Prussian king since the time of Frederick the Great has enjoyed, not even excepting his father and grandfather, both beloved by the army.

XI

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Its creation mainly owing to him—His incessant solicitude for it—The secret of the Kaiser's thorough knowledge of naval affairs—Preparatory studies while still Prince William—Expert lectures to his officers—Outlining Germany's naval strategy in the event of war—The Kaiser's confessed ambition is to make his navy equally formidable with the army—His speeches to the naval recruits—His effective agitation for a big navy—The Kaiser enlightens the German Society of Naval Architects.

Nobody was so much amazed at the fact that the Kaiser, immediately after ascending the throne, displayed a keen interest in the development of the German navy and began to show a thorough knowledge of naval matters, as the Germans themselves. For while rumor had all along credited the young prince with a passionate love of military affairs, there had been no suspicion in the public mind that his leanings towards naval lore, towards sea-life, and a greater development of Germany's resources on the ocean were even stronger. The German mind works slowly and laboriously, though in the end correctly. It required years to accustom the German public to the thought, but at last it woke up to the fact that the Kaiser was a thorough expert in naval matters, that his urging towards naval expansion was justified by events, and that a much larger navy was needed for Germany to safeguard her growing interests as a world power. Since that conviction has spread

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throughout the empire, the Kaiser has had plain sailing in realizing his dream—Germany as a big naval power.

When William II. became the head of the German nation, in 1888, the navy of the country was insignificant. It was very small. But that was not the worst. The twenty-seven iron-clads and twenty-three cruisers composing it were, some of them, not much better than junk, and all of them were antiquated, of obsolete construction, and not fit to go into battle with an efficient foe. The navy was run down. Very little interest was felt in it by the nation at large. As a naval power Germany then ranked, but fifteen years ago, away below Italy, even below Austria, and if it had come to actual war, her naval resistance would have been almost nil.

To-day Germany has thirty-five battle-ships, all, except a very few, of modern build and of fine fighting power, and forty-two cruisers of the latest type. A large number of first-class vessels are in process of construction, and, proceeding at the present rate of speed, the young empire will have, by 1915, a navy afloat equal or superior to any other in fighting strength excepting solely the British.

This creation of a new navy was the work of the Kaiser. Nay, more, the enthusiasm for the navy and for naval expansion which is to-day a striking feature in German national life, was likewise his work. His activity in this line was incessant, and his fertile brain suggested constantly novel expedients to further his aims. By word of mouth, in public and private, by telegrams and letters to all those who could be helpful to him, by the publication and wide distribution of pamphlets preaching his doctrine, by lectures before various public bodies, and by encouragement and inspiration, he has won over, in a campaign lasting through the first thirteen years of his reign, the nation

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as a whole to his ideas. The Reichstag in particular he manipulated very cleverly. For years he was met by callousness and indifference, but he prevailed in the end. The persistence and resourcefulness exhibited by him in this matter, coming from a man who in many other respects richly deserved his German nickname, William the Sudden (*Wilhelm der Plötzliche*), deserve on that account all the more acknowledgment.

Had the public known that he, while still plain Prince William and residing in the semi-seclusion of the small marble palace in Potsdam, had studied hard and patiently, in close touch all the while with leading naval experts at home and abroad, the surprise would not have been so complete at the discovery later on that Germany had got a ruler, for the first time in her history, who had both immense aspirations for national sea-power and intimate knowledge as to the means of realizing them.

It was on March 16, 1889, that the small German navy met with a severe blow. During the memorable hurricane on that day, the German cruiser *Adler*, the gunboat *Eber*, and the corvette *Olga* stranded in the harbor of Apia, Samoa, and the two larger vessels were completely lost, together with their officers and men. The American navy, it may be remembered, suffered similar losses on the same occasion. A month later, when the corvette *Alexandrine* was about to sail for Samoa, the young Kaiser appeared in Wilhelmshaven¹ and addressed the parting officers. He said he had come to testify to his sympathy for the victims of that catastrophe, and to say that they had done their full duty on that occasion. He reminded his hearers of the fact that when the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who had been sent out with the Great Armada by Philip II.

¹ Wilhelmshaven is one of the two large German naval ports, Kiel being the other.—Ed.

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of Spain, returned empty-handed to his monarch, the latter had consoled him, saying: "To fight men, not the will of God, I sent you!" Then he continued:

"Well, comrades, may the fine example given us by these men at Apia, and by the men of the *Augusta*, shine before our eyes always, spurring us on to a like fulfilment of duty. May the spirit of devotion, discipline, and persistence in the face of death, which distinguishes my navy before every other, remain alive in it. . . ."

The cession of Heligoland by England, in the summer of 1890, gave the Kaiser the welcome opportunity to point out, in a stirring address on the inauguration of German administration on the island itself, August 10th, and in an order to the navy, the high strategical value of the new possession, and especially its importance during a coming naval war.

A banquet was given the navy by the Kaiser in the castle of Gravenstein, near Kiel, on September 6, 1890, and the monarch on that occasion toasted his corps of naval officers, according them high praise for the able manner in which, at the recent naval manoeuvres, they had conducted themselves, saying:

". . . As to the discipline, and particularly the training of your men in gun-practice and ability to hit floating and moving objects, they are even to-day second to none."

After the Kaiser had broken ground for the construction of the Baltic Canal, on April 6, 1891, there was a meeting of German naval officers at the Naval Academy in Kiel, and several of their number read papers on the actual condition of the various navies

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of the world, Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, being one of those who joined in the discussion afterwards. Then the Kaiser himself, without notes or other preparation, spoke to those present for the space of about twenty-five minutes. In the main, he summarized the conclusions to be drawn from what had been said. His talk culminated in a general definition of what Germany's naval strategy ought to be in the event of a future naval war.

He repudiated earnestly the "inactive cunctator policy" pursued by the small and but half-formed German navy during the war with France in 1870-71. "The offensive is the best defence," he said, "on land as on water." That doctrine, he further remarked, must become an axiom with the German navy hereafter. He elaborated this idea and gave a mass of further details and directions, comparing "our iron-clad fleet, including the new vessels and the torpedoes, to the cavalry on shore." He spoke of every part of the vessels of new construction, and of its special tasks and difficulties, and of the enormous demands made on the ship's commander during actual engagement, dwelling with special force upon the absolute necessity of keeping his presence of mind and his mental and moral balance. "Only by getting in close to your adversary, and concentrating your efforts in one mighty, irresistible shock, can you win," he said. He reviewed briefly but lucidly the great annual naval manœuvres of England since 1888, and deduced therefrom the lesson that in the future naval wars strategy will play the same dominating and decisive part it does in land wars. This theory he again further explained. He said "one of the main objects of the chief naval commander hereafter must be the judicious choice of the 'theatre of war,' and the forcing of the enemy onto it." This, he remarked, might go so far, under given circumstances, as to send

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out a portion of the most powerful vessels and swiftest cruisers to search out and locate the hostile fleet, perhaps long distances from home and days ahead, thus inflicting serious injury on the enemy and disturbing his tactical arrangements long before the decisive meeting could take place. He wound up his talk by saying:

“To our leading naval officers points of view are thus opened which demand of them boldness of initiative, taxing them to the utmost. Of the leading commanders of our naval forces tasks will henceforth be required similar to those demanded of our army.”

In several speeches during that year and the next he expressed regret that the German navy was too small to fulfil commensurately the requirements which the future—perhaps the very near future—would have in store for it. The nation as a whole and the German press showed little interest in these remarks, and they provoked small comment.

On February 16, 1894, at a trial-trip made by the new battle-ship *Brandenburg* in the harbor of Kiel, there was an explosion in the engine-room, and more than twoscore men were killed.

The Kaiser sent a telegram of sympathy, and the victims of the catastrophe were buried, at his orders, with the same ceremonies as if they had been killed in battle. He also caused the erection of a memorial tablet in their honor in the navy church in Kiel.

A few days later, on February 20th, he was present at the ceremonies commemorating the completion of the twenty-five years of uninterrupted service of the old battle-ship *König Wilhelm*, which took place in Wilhelmshaven. He made a speech, again pointing out Germany's need of a larger navy. In referring to the days of 1870-71 and the unsatisfactory share the

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German navy had had in the events of those days, he said:

“ . . . Whoever can put himself in the place of our men in those days, and imagine their feelings, how they were for months close to the enemy, yet not permitted to attack him, will have his heart filled with bitterness and wrath.”

A couple of months later, in April, 1894, the imperial family sojourned in Abbazia, whence the Kaiser made a flying visit to the Austrian naval port of Pola, close by, on the Adriatic. He partook of a luncheon tendered him by the Austrian naval officers, and addressed them in a sympathetic strain, paying a warm tribute to the late Austrian naval hero, Tegetthoff.¹ Incidentally he lauded the Triple Alliance and Austria as Germany's faithful ally.

The addresses which the Kaiser delivered every year to the naval recruits, on the occasion of administering to them the oath of service, were some of them quite interesting. On December 3, 1894, he said to them, among other things:

“ . . . You wear the Emperor's coat. Thus you are lifted up out of the common herd, and are put on a par with your comrades of the army and marine. You occupy a noble position, and you assume duties. Many a one envies you that coat which you are wearing.”

At a similar ceremony on March 5, 1895, at Wilhelms-haven, the Kaiser said:

“ You have come here to swear the oath of fidelity.

¹ Admiral von Tegetthoff, a | the Italians at the naval battle
German by birth, the victor over | of Lissa, in 1866.—ED.

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That was an ancient custom of our ancestors, and it has always been held a sacred duty to keep this oath faithfully. As I, in my capacity as emperor and ruler, devote myself entirely to the fatherland, so you now assume the duty to devote your whole life to me. For you have sworn this as Christians, and as Christians you have been addressed by yonder two servants of God. . . .

"Abroad you are chosen to represent the fatherland by your good and dignified conduct. Our navy, it is true, is small. But what makes it stronger than other navies is our iron discipline, the unquestioning obedience to superiors. Thus our navy will grow and flourish, during peaceful times to promote the peaceable interests of the fatherland, and in war times to destroy the enemy, if God helps us. . . ."

On July 26, 1895, the Kaiser issued a decree in which he regulated the settlement of "affairs of honor" in the navy in analogy with the regulations in that respect binding on the army.

When the German gunboat *Itis* went down, during a typhoon on the coast of Shantung, China, July 23, 1896, with the captain and crew cheering the Kaiser as she sank, and but ten out of a total of eighty-five survived, the Kaiser, who happened to be on his mid-summer cruise in northern waters, sent a telegram from Bergen, Norway, to his admiral, Knorr, paying a high tribute of respect to these men. He said:

" . . . The whole country will mourn with me, and the navy will always remember with gratitude those who saw to their last breath the highest law of life in the faithful discharge of their duty."

At the sixtieth anniversary of the reign of Queen Vic-

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toria, in April, 1897, he sent his brother, Prince Henry, to England to represent him on the occasion. The following telegram, sent to his brother just before he set sail, was unquestionably intended for effect on the whole of Germany, but more particularly on the obstreperous Reichstag, just then not in the humor for large naval appropriations:

"I deeply regret my inability to send you to the jubilee with a better vessel than the *König Wilhelm*, while other nations will shine with their proud battle-ships. This is the saddening consequence of the conduct of those enemies of the fatherland¹ who contrive to prevent the acquisition of much-needed vessels. But I shall never rest until I have raised my navy to the same height as the army. . . ."

There were at that moment undoubtedly other and finer vessels than the worm-eaten old *König Wilhelm* at the Kaiser's disposal. The matter was simply a little *coup de théâtre*, done for effect. And it did have the desired effect on the country. From that year on the Kaiser entered on a regularly planned and astutely executed campaign for the enlargement, or, more properly speaking, creation, of a new and powerful navy. In this he successfully employed every means—cajolery, threats, public and private commendation or censure, etc., and by maps and charts designed by his own hand he demonstrated to the Reichstag the need for the empire of a larger navy, furnishing also statistics, comparative tables, and drawings, which were hung up in

¹The German word employed by the Kaiser was *Vaterlandslosen*—i. e., "men without a country"—and was aimed at those delegates in the Reichstag, especially the Socialists and Ultra-

montanes, who refused to sanction his demands that year for the navy. The newly elected Reichstag, in 1898, proved itself to be in a more generous mood.—ED.

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the lobbies of the national parliament building. These means were quite effective, slowly but surely.

To the marine recruits in Wilhelmshaven the Kaiser said, on March 2, 1898, referring to the *Itis* incident and to the seizure of Kiaochou, in China:

“You have sworn upon the flag of our navy, which shows the colors, black-white-red. Black symbolizes toil and mourning; white, holidays and repose; red, the blood which many of your forebears have shed for the fatherland. I remind you of the fact that brave seamen have gone down to the bottom with their last thoughts centred upon the dear fatherland and the flag which they had sworn to cherish. Many of your comrades have gone out to protect the country's interests. Wherever a German man lies under the sod, fallen in the faithful discharge of his duty to the fatherland, and wherever the German eagle has struck his talons into a land, that land, I say, is German and will remain German. . . .”

The first naval enlargement bill was adopted by the Reichstag on March 28, 1898, and the Kaiser noted his joy at the event by a series of telegrams to the Grand-duke of Baden, to the Hamburg-American line, and others. In his telegram to Burgomaster Pauli, of Bremen, he said:

“. . . As the German army has secured us peace on land, so similarly the German navy will secure us peace on sea, and therewith the undisturbed development of our navigation, in which the city of Bremen has so prominent a share.”

Meanwhile, due largely to the Kaiser's inspiration and ceaseless efforts, the Deutsche Flottenverein (Ger-

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man Naval Society) had been formed, a body of naval enthusiasts who wished to promote the enlargement of the navy, and which has since grown to a membership of eight hundred and fifty thousand, with branch societies everywhere. On September 14, 1898, the Kaiser sent to the president, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, a congratulatory telegram on the occasion of its first annual meeting. He said in it:

“May the patriotic efforts of the society and its members contribute to the conviction that a more rapid and energetic development of our sea-power is a necessity, and that this conviction may take deeper root in the German nation. A powerful navy is one of the most important foundations for the maintenance of the greatness and prestige of the empire, as it also is for the growth of our economic interests.”

Messages similar in spirit were likewise wired, then and soon after, to several German sovereigns who had fathered the formation of branch societies in their domains.

On May 25, 1899, the German Society of Naval Architects was formed, on the model of the British one, and the Kaiser sent a message expressing his satisfaction thereat to the president, Busley, in Berlin.

In October, 1899, the cruiser *Kaiser* returned from far Asia, and the Kaiser spoke to the crew at some length, saying:

“. . . You have my thanks, as your commander-in-chief, and that of the entire fatherland, for having once more brought renown to the German name abroad. That applies especially to you, who are now standing before me, arms at rest, and who have done your share in the seizure of Kiaochou, executed at my orders.

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God be praised, it has at last come to pass that everybody in the empire, old and young, high and humble, follows with affection and interest every one of our few vessels of war having a mission to perform in foreign waters. . . .”

Early in 1900 another and much more comprehensive bill, prepared by the government at the Kaiser's behest and looking to the enlargement of the navy on a more solid basis and extending over a period of fifteen years, was introduced in the Reichstag. The Kaiser thereupon redoubled his efforts in the way of making propaganda for this measure, and showered telegrams on all those German sovereigns or citizens who were prominently engaged in furthering his objects. Thus he telegraphed to Prince Wied, in Berlin, president of the Deutsche Flottenverein; to the King of Württemberg, saying to the latter:

“ . . . I trust that the events of the last days have convinced widening circles that not Germany's interests alone, but also her honor in far-away waters, must be protected, and that, to do this, Germany must be strong and mighty on the seas.”

To the governor-general of Alsace-Lorraine, Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, who had announced to him the formation there of branches of the Naval Society, he telegraphed appreciatively on March 3, 1900, saying:

“ . . . That the importance for Germany of greater sea-power is recognized more and more clearly and generally in the Reichslande, proves the growing German national sentiment of the Alsace-Lorrainers. . . .”

One of the most effective means employed by the

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Kaiser to interest the population of inner Germany, away from the extensive coast-line, for his naval plans, and thus exert through them a strong pressure upon their representatives in the Reichstag, was the despatching of a torpedo fleet up the Rhine. He had made careful preparations for this, and wherever these small boats, decked out gayly in the national colors, stopped, at all the small or large Rhine ports in Prussia, Hesse, Bavaria, Baden, officers and men were enthusiastically welcomed and hospitably entertained. The great majority of these inland people had never seen a war-vessel before, either German or foreign, and their enthusiasm and curiosity knew no bounds.

In special telegrams to the communal councils of Cologne and other large places along the flotilla's itinerary, the Kaiser recommended these vessels and their crews to the hospitality of the citizens, employing homely phrases for the purpose. The flotilla thus penetrated, leaving the larger vessels, one by one, behind at centres of population, and the smaller ones going on to the very limits of the empire in the southwest, almost to the sources of the Rhine—viz., to Ludwigs-hafen and Constance by the lake of that name. The mission was eminently successful.

To the sovereigns of Hesse, Bavaria, and Baden the Kaiser likewise sent sympathetic telegrams as soon as the flotilla had arrived within their territory.

It was no wonder, then, that the Reichstag made record time in debating and then adopting this most important bill, which that body did on June 12, 1900. To the Senate of Hamburg the Kaiser wired, in answer to congratulations, as follows:

"I have received your telegram with pleasure. Your words show me anew that you have apprehended my aims and labors, and that you have faithfully collabo-

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rated with me. You will believe that I thank the Almighty for this success. May He give us, also, His assistance for the remaining work, until the completion of which we shall have to continue our exertions without abatement."

And to the directors of the Hamburg-American line he sent a telegram thanking all those who had aided him, and then adding:

"... And now let us go on in the good work, that our navy may soon appear on the seas, really compelling respect, and as an additional power in my hands to safeguard peace to the world."

In Kiel, at the swearing-in of the marines, on November 23, 1900, the Kaiser spoke again at length. He reviewed briefly the growth of the German navy, and spoke of the heroic death of the *Illis* crew. Then he said:

"Suddenly the picture has changed. . . . Within a few months men of our navy have become the allies of those sent by the civilized Christian nations to uphold their faith in far-away parts and to maintain order. And while out there guns are thundering and men of the different navies distinguish themselves by bravery, many a one losing his life in courageously fighting, you young recruits swear the oath upon our flag. . . . I am convinced that many a one out there has had a minute or an hour when he suddenly felt abandoned, having only himself to rely upon, and fortified only by the oath he had taken. I can say with pride and pleasure that my sons have not disappointed me. I gratefully acknowledge what your brothers have accomplished out there. We will not forget that a new word of

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command fell there for the first time from the mouth of a foreign leader: 'Germans to the front!' Your brothers succeeded in cutting out their comrades from the hands of an overwhelming foe. because they remembered their oath. . . ."

The Kaiser, of course, refers here to incidents of the Chinese troubles.

Marine reinforcements left Wilhelmshaven for Kiaochou on March 4, 1901, and the Kaiser bade them God-speed, saying:

"Soldiers, you are going to a country which has experienced during the last months what is meant by German discipline, German valor, and German military training. The foreigner has been made to feel what it means to insult the German Kaiser and his soldiers. The enemy has been taught a severe lesson, and all other nations have seen how German soldiers fight, conquer, and die. All of them have gained respect for our art of war and for our training. May you show in foreign countries our matchless discipline, our unquestioning obedience and bravery, and all the good qualities of body and soul. May you be instrumental in spreading the glory of the fatherland all over the earth. . . ."

The Kaiser loves to surprise his people, and now and then he does thoroughly unconventional things. In the history of Prussia, for instance, it had never happened that the monarch so far ignored his exalted position as to attend, as one in the audience, a public meeting, and then to mingle with his subjects on terms of perfect equality—nay, more than that, to take part in the general debate, and to address the meeting, after obtaining permission to do so from the chairman, in answer to some previous speaker. Yet that is precisely

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what the Kaiser did, on November 8, 1901, at the third annual meeting of the Society of German Naval Architects in Berlin. The subject under discussion was one of special interest to him—namely, “The Development in the Placing of Guns on Board Battle-ships”—and several of the most noted German experts had spoken at length on the topic. But when the Kaiser rose and delivered, off-hand, and in an easy, conversational style, in his high, clear, strident voice, a lecture on the matter which went to the very marrow of it, the general impression of the distinguished audience was that a man had spoken who understood his topic in its every bearing. The main part of his speech was as follows:

“I believe that this question has been discussed in this meeting principally from the technical view-point. Perhaps a brief reference to the other side of the question will not be without interest. I mean the influence of the military requirements upon this development in ship-construction and the placement of the artillery. The previous speaker retraced his steps as far as the old ships of the line, and pointed out that the stern and bow fire had been somewhat neglected. The ships of the line, it must be remembered, are in accord with specific military and technical requirements. But I think we might go back a little farther. In the period of the galleys, for example, a very energetic development of the bow fire had taken place. Comparing the galleys with the later ships of the line simply from that point, it must be said that the galleys showed a higher degree of development—for the galleys had to rely upon their own resources of propulsion even in calm weather. Hence, too, a flotilla of galleys pursued different tactics from the ship of the line. They had to make a more extensive use of their artillery. And be-

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cause of that, a galley fleet drew up for battle in a wide front, such as we see was done in the biggest naval engagement of those times—the battle of Lepanto. On that occasion the admiral, Don Juan d'Austria, crushed the enemy by the superiority of his bowsprit artillery. These requirements, then, are in accord with good tactics, as I said before, and the tactics again depend upon the mode of propulsion anterior to the steam method—using wind conditions skilfully—while the different methods in vogue at that time and since depend upon the military qualifications and peculiarities of each nation. I mean by that more particularly the relative progress in military and nautical things, as well as their natural disposition regarding the offensive or defensive. We see it by the manner in which England uses her battle-ships—how they like to break the broad formation of the battle-line by developing the keel-line, and thus splitting up the advance and the rear guard. Why, the English ships were built for these very tactics. From all of which results the great necessity of the bow and stern fire, and this necessity has not been sufficiently insisted upon. The English and the French frigates were in the habit of placing, in pursuit of a superior adversary, five or six guns of the heaviest caliber, if they could get near enough to him, which is a proof that even then the independent placement of artillery was resorted to in stringent cases. As for the point made by the previous speaker relative to the most important phases of development in English and French ship-construction, I entirely agree with the statements of the other speakers about that. But I should like to point out why German ship-construction can fairly claim a system of its own, and that consists in the fact that we have from the start insisted that the influence of the marine officers, of the vessel's commander, should be, as far as at all expedient, the dom-

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inating one with the designer and constructor of the ship.

"The consequence has been that our naval ship type has developed solely under the influence of military requirements in striking contrast to formerly, when the constructor merely built a vessel and the navy merely operated it. That principle is antiquated. But, of course, the ship-constructor has to make a successful compromise between the artillery fire and the engine requirements on the one hand and the requirements of actual engagement conditions on the other. I believe that the type of battle-ship we have at present is capable and certain of further development, until it will furnish us with a fighting machine such as we must demand from the military view-point. And I also believe that the co-operation of our naval engineers and architects with our proved and tried ship-yards will result in tangible progress. . . ."

As to the relations existing between the Kaiser and his navy, it is particularly characteristic that they are not nearly so formal and stiff as those with the army. He cultivates a spirit of hearty comradeship with both officers and men. He has given his photograph, often with his signature, to hundreds of the officers and men, and he has made little gifts of money or cigars to deserving old tars on innumerable occasions, has often chatted by the hour with a plain deck-hand, and inquired, with genuine interest, into their private and family affairs. When on board his own yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, or some other vessel, he exposes himself to every sort of weather, and is forever "roughing it" in true sailor fashion. It is credibly asserted that he knows by name and otherwise every one of his officers in the navy, and holds towards them and their men an attitude which is, for a monarch, a novel and very

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judicious mixture composed of about equal parts of the admiral, the sovereign, and the father. He makes his navy work hard, very hard; that is true. But he shows himself that he is fond of hard work and unmindful of exposure. In many ways he rewards efficiency and ardent fulfilment of duty—by prizes, preferment, bounties, honorable mention, verbal praise—and never shows anything but the keenest, most sincere interest in the welfare and the doings of his navy. The result of all this is inevitable. The navy loves and venerates the Kaiser with a feeling similar in depth and quality to that which filled the soldiers of the first Napoleon towards Le Petit Caporal.

It is well to know these facts. They not only help to a better and fairer understanding of the strangely complex nature of the Kaiser, but they also explain the hopes which that ruler is building in large part upon his navy. The scope and essence of these hopes and dreams—to develop Germany into a great maritime power—he has, as we have seen, himself unfolded on several occasions.

XII

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Stirring and patriotic speeches made by the Kaiser on these occasions—Pointing to the future when Germany is to be a great maritime power—His parallels drawn from history, Teutonic mythology, and folk-lore—"We bitterly need a powerful German navy"—Strong public censure for his opponents in the Reichstag—Pointed references to American advance—Emphasizing the idea of a world power.

SCARCELY one of the newer ships of the German navy has been launched since the Kaiser's accession which he has not welcomed to its watery element with a speech more or less graphic and telling. And in this, as in other things at which the careless world has often scoffed as merely theatrical, there has been method. He has adroitly used these occasions to further his pet project—developing the German navy into a powerful rival to England, France, and Russia, and quickening the public opinion of the empire until it should beat in accordance with his own convictions. A natural-born orator, with an orator's love of sounding phrase and scintillating metaphor, his many addresses on the occasion of wedding the powerful hulks with the sea have yet served mainly the serious and practical purpose aforesaid.

Nearly always these speeches have been instinct with life and fire, been dashing and enthusiastic, palpitating with patriotism. For parallels in the lessons he sought to convey he went as a rule to history, especially the

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nautical history of the great maritime powers of the past and present, and his similes and figures of speech he chose from German folk-lore and old Teuton mythology.

The first of these speeches he made on June 30, 1891, when he baptized at Wilhelmshaven the fine battle-ship *Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm*. This vessel was to take the place of the iron-clad *Grosser Kurfürst*, which had collided, near Folkstone, on May 31, 1878, and gone down with her crew of two hundred and sixty-nine officers and men. He said:

"The great sire of our house, three centuries ago, knew how to lift the electorate of Brandenburg from its insignificant position and to raise an army feared by his enemies, courted by his friends. We mind the man of Warsaw, Fehrbellin, and Stettin. True, the Great Elector¹ awakens sad memories in my navy. But the name, too, is a mighty incentive. And I trust that the old motto: *Hie gut Brandenburg allewege!* will be illustrated by this ship. And thus, in memory of this great man, I baptize it *Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm*."

The battle-ship *Brandenburg* was launched on September 22d of the same year from the Vulcan yards in Stettin, and the Kaiser greeted the fine vessel as follows:

"... Bear thou, O noble ship, a name which in the history of our country is a corner and foundation stone, the name of a land which forms the very centre of our monarchy, inhabited by a people who—poor, faithful, brave, and steadfast—is bound to the race of Hohenzollern with hooks of steel. One with the Ho-

¹ English for *Grosser Kurfürst*.—ED.

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henzollerns, it has, like them, made itself famed and feared. . . .”

Less than two months later, on December 14, 1891, another battle-ship of the same type, the *Weissenburg*, received its name from the Kaiser, and at the same yard. He said:

“ . . . The name shall recall the man who witnessed the baptism of the first-born of this yard.¹ It is also to recall that heroic time when our country rose united and won its consolidation on the battle-field. And the name is to recall the deeds which my father, whose memory will shine brilliantly into futurity, achieved at the head of the united German hosts. Thou shalt bear the name of a day which was epoch-making for our history, for it was the corner-stone for the structure that subsequently culminated in the imperial crown. It shall recall the name of that battle at which, for the first time, the united German armies were led by Crown-prince Frederick William, winning victory over a chivalrous foe, and by winning this victory gave opportunity to the German arms for further victories. . . .”

The iron-clad *Heimdall* was launched at Kiel, from the imperial yards, on June 27, 1892, and the Kaiser remarked:

“ . . . The name to be chosen for thee is taken from the earliest sagas of our forefathers in the North. Thou shalt bear the name of that god whose chief province it was to safeguard the golden gates of Valhalla from every wicked intruder. As he, sounding his golden horn as a token to the gods of approaching danger, called

¹ His father, then the Crown-prince Frederick William.—ED.

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upon them to fight for the halls of the immortals, and by his blasts brought disorder and woe into the hostile ranks, so in like manner be it with thee!

"Glide thou into thy element now! Be ever a faithful warden of the seas, ever a faithful defender of our nation's honor, the honor of our flag. And when the time arrives, bring thou also destruction and despair into thy foe's lines.

"Bear thou in honor the name of *Heimdall*!"

A sister-ship to the above, the *Aegir*, was launched on March 3, 1895, at Kiel, and the Kaiser spoke in a similar strain, saying:

". . . Sprung from the ancient Germanic sagas are the names of these ships, belonging to the same class in our navy. Hence, thou, too, shalt remind us of the dawn of our race, of that dread divinity which was venerated by all our seafaring Teuton forebears, and whose powerful dominion stretched from the icy north pole to the distant south pole, in whose realm the Northern battles were fought, and death and terror carried into the land of the enemy. The name of this awful god thou shalt bear. Be worthy of it. Thus I call thee *Aegir*!"

In place of the worn-out iron-clad *Preussen*, launched by the Kaiser's father and mother, another and larger battle-ship had been built. Its baptismal rites were performed at Wilhelmshaven on July 1, 1896, and the Kaiser spoke at some length on that occasion, giving it the name of his father, *Kaiser Friedrich III*. He paid a warm tribute to his father on that occasion, and called upon the nation to bear in mind always his high virtues as a ruler and a man. In speaking of his

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leadership during the war against France, the Kaiser made use of the phrase:

“My father won our House of Hohenzollern the imperial crown forever and aye.”

During the banquet a few hours later, in answer to an address by the Naval Secretary, Admiral Hollmann, the Kaiser proposed a toast, during which he said:

“ . . . Our navy, then still in process of formation, was not able to take as important a part during the late war as we should have wished, was not able to sacrifice life, blood, and treasure for the good of the fatherland. . . . ”

To replace the antiquated *König Wilhelm*, the big 13,500-ton battle-ship *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* had been built at Kiel, and the Kaiser, on June 1, 1899, spoke appropriately, while the act of baptism itself was performed by his aunt, the Grand-duchess Louise of Baden.

Another formidable battle-ship, the *Kaiser Karl der Grosse*,¹ glided into the Elbe River, at Hamburg, on October 18, 1899, and after the ceremony the city of Hamburg gave the Kaiser a splendid banquet in the municipal building, the monarch delivering a speech mainly on the naval needs of the empire, making use of the following language:

“ . . . We need this new ship. We bitterly need a powerful German navy. . . . Right here, in the centre of this mighty emporium of commerce, one feels the elasticity and the fulness which the German people can by

¹Emperor Charlemagne.—Ed.

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their consolidation lend to this city's far-reaching enterprises. And it is here, too, that they know and feel best how absolutely necessary to our foreign interests is a powerful protection and the mighty strengthening of our sea-power. Yet slowly—oh, how slowly—this conviction spreads in the interior of the fatherland, while so much of its strength is wasted in vain partisan squabbles. With deep anxiety have I observed how slowly interest in and political understanding of this truth have progressed in Germany. Look around you! Within a few, a very few, years, how much has the world changed its face? Old empires sink to their doom and new ones are in the ascendant. Nations suddenly appear within the visual horizon and enter into energetic competition, which a brief while ago had scarcely been noticed by the eye of the careless throng. Events which wrought a revolution in international relations and upon the field of social economy came to pass within a couple of months, while formerly they would have required centuries to ripen. It is owing to all this that the tasks for empire and people have grown immensely, and demand of me and my government unusual and hard effort—effort, too, which can be crowned by success only in case the German people stand behind me, united and steadfast, abandoning their party strife. And our people must make sacrifices. Above all must they leave off the mania to look to party as the highest good, party in ever-increasing bitterness of spirit. Our people must cease putting party above the common weal. Our people must learn to control their old hereditary vices; above all, to cease fruitless criticism, and to halt before those limits which our most vital interests draw. For it is precisely these old political sins which at present tell fatally against our maritime interests and our navy. Had they not persistently refused me, during the first eight years of my reign,

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and despite my incessant prayers and warnings to enlarge it—and neither scorn nor scoffings was I spared during those years—how much more rapidly, and by what other and more potent means could we now promote our flourishing commerce and our transmarine interests!

“But my hopes to see the German make a manful effort are not gone. For in his bosom glows and beats mightily the love for the fatherland. . . .”

On April 21, 1900, the Naval Secretary, Admiral von Tirpitz, wired the Kaiser news of the launching of another big ship of the line, the *Barbarossa*. The Kaiser sent, in reply, a telegram worded very patriotically.

Another large battle-ship, the *Wittelsbach*, was baptized on July 4, 1900, in Wilhelmshaven, by a member of the royal Wittelsbach dynasty, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, who had been invited for the purpose. The Kaiser also witnessed the ceremony and conferred a naval rank on the prince. The latter toasted the Kaiser, who then replied:

“ . . . Your Royal Highness has had occasion, recently, to attend gatherings at which decisions were arrived at that will influence the destinies of the nation. Your Royal Highness must have observed how powerfully the waves of the ocean beat at the gates of our people and compel us to maintain our place in the world as a great power—in a word, we must pursue a world policy. The sea and sea-power are indispensable for Germany's greatness. But it is the sea, too, which proves that neither upon the water nor upon the land, in far-away countries, decisions must be reached or events happen without the consent of Germany and the German Emperor. I am not of opinion that our German people, thirty years ago, fought and bled under the leadership

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of our princes and monarchs in order to be pushed aside when important decisions are to be made in foreign parts. If we were to permit that, our rôle as a world power would be over and done with forever, and I do not intend that it shall come to that. To find for this purpose the adequate means, and, if need be, the most trenchant as well, is my duty as well as my most cherished prerogative. I feel sure that in this I have Germany's princes and our entire people behind me in solid phalanx. . . ."

XIII

THE KAISER AND HIGHER EDUCATION

His own experience in a German public school—A letter by him in which he drastically points out shortcomings of the prevailing system—School reforms planned by him at his accession—The cadet academies the first to be modelled by him—The great "School Reform Quest" in 1890—Remarkable address delivered by him on that occasion—Radical changes advocated—Healthful sport recommended—Teachers must infuse patriotism in their pupils' minds—How he thought socialism could be extirpated—Wants the youth of his country to be taught how to become patriotic Germans, not Romans or Greeks—Insisting on the high value of technical training—Summing up his reform ideas.

AT the command of his parents the Kaiser, then a boy of fifteen, was sent to Cassel, there to attend, from 1874 to 1877, the local "gymnasium," known as the Lyceum Fridericianum, a higher public school enjoying an excellent reputation. Its principal, Professor Dr. Vogt, was a noted pedagogue. The latter wrote to Prince William's parents a letter in answer to the inquiry whether their son would be welcome in his school, in which he stated quite frankly that that would be the case only if the young prince would pledge himself to comply with all the rules of the institution precisely in the same manner as every other pupil did.

This candid letter was exactly what the boy's father and mother had looked for, and soon after Prince William came to Cassel, making his summer quarters the beautiful château of Wilhelmshöhe (where Napoleon

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III. was held a captive after Sedan), and a smaller palace in the immediate vicinity of the school edifice his residence during winter. There is an abundance of authentic material on hand showing how the heir to the imperial throne of Germany conducted himself during this interesting period of his life.

In an official report, some time after Prince William's entry, by Ludwig Wiese, a Prussian school-inspector to whose district belonged Cassel, mention is made of him as follows:

"Prince William rode every morning on horseback from Wilhelmshöhe to school, arriving punctually in town so as to be in his class-room before 7 A.M. The class to which he belonged was attended by twenty-one pupils. In his appearance and in his demeanor I could discover no difference with his fellow-pupils. He was modest and unassuming in his ways. I noticed in him a predilection for Horace. He had of his own volition translated several Horatian odes and learned them by heart, and sometimes, as the principal told me, he had brought ancient coins or illustrations of antique objects into the class-room, when he believed they explained certain passages. He took the greatest amount of interest in history. In examining him he did not miss an answer. . . ."

This same authority states, in another official report, that, in accordance with the expressly worded desire of his parents, absolutely no difference was made at school between the prince and the other pupils, that he conducted himself with credit, and that he passed, in 1877, his "maturity" examination with honors.

The principal's report said that Prince William was uniformly bright and happy in his disposition, and showed the spirit of good-comradeship, but never ostentatiously. However, with all that, he clearly was of a somewhat sedate and precociously dignified bearing, never in his intercourse with other youths forgetting his position. The demands made upon his dili-

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gence and mental capacity were greater than with the rest. Besides the regular tasks for the school, both in the class-room and at home, he pursued military scientific studies, and took regular practice in various forms of physical exercise—above all, in horsemanship, rowing, swimming, fencing, and gymnastics. The theatre was visited by him but rarely, as a rule only on the anniversary days of the birth of members of the royal Prussian family. He was an excellent swimmer, and during the summer he seldom missed a day swimming in the Fulda River, making use for that purpose of the conveniences afforded by the military natatorium near the city.

After successfully passing the final examination, Prince William gave, on the eve of his eighteenth birthday, January 26, 1877, a farewell dinner, to which all his late teachers and fellow-pupils and some other guests had been invited by him. He made a neat little speech, thanking everybody, and then distributed, at the instance of his grandfather, the reigning Kaiser, some orders and decorations. His classmates were given his photograph with autograph signature.

During the whole time he spent at Cassel and in school, it was remarked that he had a special and natural gift of bearing himself with dignity in his intercourse with everybody.

It is of interest to note Prince William's real opinions regarding the methods of teaching observed in this public school at Cassel. In a letter written by him on April 2, 1885, eight years after leaving college, to a German lawyer who had sent him two pamphlets on the shortcomings of the prevailing methods of German tuition, Prince William, then a young man of twenty-six, says:

"Most cordial thanks for the two publications you

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sent me. I have read *Woran wir leiden*¹ with great interest and greater pleasure. At last one who energetically attacks this ossified and spirit-killing system of ours! What you say therein I subscribe to word for word. I have, as you know, had occasion to convince myself, for two years and a half, in how many ways our youth is being sinned against. How many of those things which you there cite I have ruminated over by myself! Just to mention a few of those things:

“Of twenty-one *primaner*² which constituted our class, no fewer than nineteen had to wear glasses. Three of them had to put an additional glass in front of their spectacles when they wanted to see as far as the black-board!

“Homer, that magnificent man, for whom I have a great admiration; Horace; Demosthenes, whose orations are bound to enthuse any one—how were they read? With enthusiasm, perhaps, for the battles painted or for the splendid weapons described or for the strong passages of nature description? Not at all. Under the scalpel of the grammarian, the fanatical philologist, every brief sentence was divided, quartered, until the skeleton had been found with joy and had been triumphantly exhibited to the admiration of all, in order to demonstrate in how many ways *ἄν* or *ἐπὶ* or any other trivial thing may be prefixed or affixed! It was enough to shed tears!

“The Latin and Greek treatises—a howling farce!—what trouble and labor they cost! And what pitiable results were obtained! I believe Horace would have given up the ghost with fright.

“Away with this rot! War to the knife against such tuition! This system brings it about that our youth know the syntax, the grammar of these ancient lan-

¹What We Suffer From. — | ²Pupils of the highest class
ED. | in a German gymnasium.—ED.

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guages better than the old Greeks themselves knew it; that they know by heart every one of these old generals, battles, and orders of battles in the Punic and Mithridatic wars, but are left completely in the dark about the battles of the Seven Years' War, let alone those of the 'much-too-modern' wars of '66 or '70, which, of course, 'they haven't had yet.'

"As for the body, now, I am also of the well-defined opinion that the afternoon hours ought to be free for once and all. The lessons in gymnastics ought to be a pleasure for the boys. Races over hurdled tracks and very natural arrangements for climbing would be of value. It would be a good idea if in all towns having military garrisons the entire male youth of riper years were made to drill with canes twice or thrice every week under the direction of a sergeant. And to take the place of the present stupid class excursions—with elegant walking-canes, in black coats, and a cigar in the mouth—brisk tramps across fields, roughing it, even if it should terminate now and then in athletic games or in a free-for-all, hand-to-hand fight among the boys.

"Our *primaner* are—and we ourselves were not any better—nowadays much too affected to pull off their coats and have a lively scramble or set-to. What else can be expected of them under present conditions. Therefore, I say, *guerre à outrance* on this system. And I am more than ready to co-operate with you in your efforts. I rejoice to have found one who speaks out plainly and who seizes upon things with a firm hand.

"Your WILLIAM, Prince of Prussia."

It will readily be understood that the young Kaiser, when he came to reign, embraced the reform of higher education in German schools in his programme.

The first of these attempts at reform was aimed at the government cadet schools and military academies.

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His own high opinion of the educational worth of these military institutions may safely be gathered from the fact that he placed his sons not in a "gymnasium," but in the cadet school in Plön. On February 13, 1890, he issued a decree looking to a very radical and comprehensive reorganization both in the methods of tuition and in the choice of subjects taught. This document said that the chief aim of education in these military institutions must be the harmonious co-operation of physical, mental, and religious discipline and development, thus forming character. He elaborated this postulate, and pointed out mistaken methods pursued in these schools. Then he went on insisting that in religious tuition emphasis must be laid more on ethical and less on dogmatic features. The officers graduating from these institutions were intended, he said, to become themselves educators in "the great school of the nation, the army," and hence the paramount importance of making them self-contained, harmoniously developed men, able to teach as much by personal example as by word of mouth. "Devotion to monarch and country," he said, "depends, like the fulfilment of all other duties, on divine command." Hence, too, he wished German history, especially the more modern parts of it, taught more extensively and in detail, and in such manner as to awaken in the mind of the pupil the sense of heroism and historic grandeur, and to give him due appreciation of and comprehension for the "roots and the development of our culture." The German—its literature, its ready and correct use, both in writing and orally—the Kaiser wants made the centre of all tuition, and this must also comprise a knowledge of the folk-lore, the mythology, and the legends of the Germanic race. As to modern foreign languages, special attention must be paid from the start to enable practical use of them, in speaking and writing.

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On these general lines the military schools of Germany have since been gradually remodelled.

Towards the close of the same year the Kaiser approached the much more difficult and delicate, as well as far more important, task of reorganizing the higher public schools for the education of the civilian population—*i.e.*, the “gymnasia,” the “upper real schools,” and the “real gymnasia.” The then Prussian Minister of Education, Von Gossler, an exceptionally able man, had been won by the Kaiser for his plans, and, a number of preparatory steps having been taken, the great “school conference” met on December 4, 1890, in Berlin. It was composed of forty-five experts, nearly all practical or theoretical pedagogues. The Kaiser welcomed these men in a set speech, and soon after the first preliminary session had been opened he addressed them at length. His speech on that occasion was one of the longest and weightiest he ever made. It was nothing less than a complete exposure of his educational programme for the empire. The most remarkable passages in it were as follows:

“ . . . First of all, I wish to point out that this is not a political school question, but merely an effort to agree on technical and pedagogical measures needed to develop our growing youth of to-day in a way to enable them to grapple successfully with the demands which the altered position in the world makes on our country and on our life. . . .

“The main thing is that you grasp the spirit of this matter, and not the mere form. I have myself scribbled down some of the chief points to which I wish to direct your attention. I trust you will give them due weight.

“There we have, for instance, ‘School Hygiene, Aside from Gymnastics,’ a matter deserving mature delib-

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eration. Then we have 'Reduction in the Number of Subjects for Tuition,' which means consideration of those things which can be fitly eliminated. Again we have 'Plans of Tuition for the Several Branches' and 'Teaching Methods for Organization.' Also 'Have the Unnecessaries Been all Removed from the Examinations?' and 'Has Overwork and Overcrowding Been Avoided for the Future?' . . .

"If the school had done what one had a right to expect of it, it would of its own accord have entered into the fight against Social Democracy. The teaching bodies ought to have taken hold of the matter and ought to have instructed the growing generation in such a way that those young men who are of about the same age as myself—about thirty, therefore—would of themselves have formed the material with which I could operate within the state in order to dominate and suppress the movement. That has not been the case, however. The last phase of our development, where the school exerted decisive influence upon our whole national life, was the time of 1864, 1866, until 1870. Then it was the Prussian schools; the Prussian teachers were the advocates of the idea of national unity, an idea which was preached everywhere. Every young student on leaving school and entering the army, or stepping out into civil life, every one, all were of one mind: The German Empire must be re-established and Alsace-Lorraine must be regained. With the year 1871 this has ceased. The empire is reunited. We have attained what we wanted; and then matters have come to a stand-still.

"It would have been the task of the school, starting from the newly won basis, to inspire and to enlighten our youth that the new empire was there to be preserved and maintained. But nothing of the kind has been done. Even now, but a short time after the foun-

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dation of the empire, centrifugal tendencies are noticeable. I can notice that because I stand on high, and all such questions approach and confront me.

"The reason of this is to be looked for in the education of our youth. What is amiss in it? Many things. Above all, this: that since the year 1870 the philologists have sat in the gymnasia as *beati possidentes*, and have put the emphasis upon acquiring book knowledge only, neglecting the formation of character and the requirements of modern life. . . . Not the ability to *do*, but only to *know* things has been fostered and taught; that shows itself, too, at the examinations. The underlying principle has always been to make the pupil know a lot of things; whether that which he has learned will be useful to him in after life seems never to be considered. When one talks with one of these teachers, and tries to make it clear to him that a young man must be, above all, practically trained for life and its tasks, the answer is in nearly all cases that this is not within the proper scope of the school. . . . I believe we cannot afford to continue in this way.

". . . Our school system at present lacks, above all, its national basis. We must take German for the foundation of our gymnasia. We want to educate our pupils into young Germans, not young Greeks or Romans. We must deviate from the basis which for centuries has had its full sway—away from the conventual education of the Middle Ages, where Latin was predominant and a little Greek into the bargain. That is no longer appropriate or judicious. German must become the basis. The German essay must become the central point around which everything else gravitates. . . .

"In like manner I wish to see the national spirit promoted in history, geography, and legendary lore. Let us begin at home. . . . Above all, we must be thor-

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oughly conversant with the history of our own country. When I went to school, the Great Elector was for us a nebulous being, the Seven Years' War was left unconsidered, and history as a whole wound up for us with the end of the last century, with the French Revolution. The Wars of Liberation, the most important subject for the future citizen of the state, were not treated of at all, and I was only enabled, by hearing supplementary lectures delivered by my dear Professor Hinzpeter, to know something about this important period. And that is precisely the *punctum saliens*. Why are our young men brought to wrong views? Why do so many confused, turbid minds among us turn utopians? Why are they forever criticising our own government, lauding conditions in foreign countries? Because our young men do not know how our conditions have developed under the stress of necessity. Because they do not know that the roots of them lie in the age of the French Revolution. And it is because of this that I am fully convinced if this transitional process leading from the French Revolution into the nineteenth century were but explained to our youth, in simple, unpartisan fashion, they would gain an entirely clearer apprehension of the questions of to-day. They would then be able to complement at the university, by additional lectures, their knowledge about all these things.

" . . . It is absolutely necessary to reduce the hours of study¹. . . . Well, gentlemen, by a perfectly honest score—Professor Hinzpeter will bear me out—each one of us had to spend at home, in preparation for school lessons, a daily matter of five and one-half, six and one-half, even seven hours. That was during the last year. Add to this six hours of school tuition and two hours for

¹Here the Kaiser went into details about the hours of study during his school-days at Cas-
sel.—Ed.

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meals, and you can see for yourselves how much was left us of the day. . . . These are burdens which youths cannot for any great length of time endure with impunity. I am of opinion that this must and ought to be changed. . . . The schools, particularly the gymnasia, have made superhuman demands. They have, in my opinion, given us an oversupply of culture, more than the nation can stand, more than they themselves can stand. Prince Bismarck's saying, that about the 'cultured proletariat,' has deep meaning. All these so-called 'hunger candidates,' especially the gentlemen of the press, are in most cases decadent gymnasians—and that means a danger for us. . . . I shall, therefore, not sanction the establishment of any new gymnasium except its tangible need be first proven to me. We have now more than enough of them.

" . . . This whole matter may be easily solved. . . . Let us say, in future: Classical gymnasia, giving classic culture; another category of schools with real, practical knowledge, but no 'real gymnasia,' for the latter are neither one thing nor the other; they teach a semi-culture, and give but semi-fitness for the subsequent battle of life. . . ."

The Kaiser then went into details of practical importance only to German teachers and pupils, dwelling next on the frequency of too large classes, and on the unsatisfactory character and qualifications of many teachers, saying that Professor Hinzpeter's words, "to educate, it is necessary to be educated one's self," were true. Then he went on:

"We must get rid of the idea that a teacher's duty consists merely in giving so many lessons daily, and, they being over, his work is done. The school which now withdraws our youth from the domestic hearth

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for so large a portion of each day must also take upon itself the responsibility for, and the education of, this same youth. Educate our youth and you will have a different class of graduates. We must abandon the maxim that knowledge of books is everything, and the requirements of life afterwards nothing; our young people must be trained for modern, practical life."

Here the Kaiser quoted official statistics, showing that at that time there were in Prussia alone about five hundred and forty higher public schools, with some one hundred and thirty-five thousand pupils, and dwelt on the excessive number of school-hours and domestic preparatory work. Then he touched on the physical ailments and disabilities consequent upon this mental and bodily overburdening, saying:

"Statistics showing the spread of these 'school ailments,' particularly myopia, are truly frightful. . . . Reflect for a moment what kind of material this will make for purposes of our country's defence. I want soldiers. We need a strong, healthy generation, men who are also able and willing to serve the fatherland as intellectual guides and as officials. The great mass of these short-sighted young men are practically useless. A man who cannot use his eyes properly, of how much avail is he? In *Prima* the number of short-sighted pupils rises to seventy-four per cent. . . . In this question of school hygiene, I hold that in the teachers' preparatory institutions special courses in this matter must be made obligatory, and that every teacher, if in fair health, must take physical exercise, must become an expert in it, and must practise daily. . . ."

The effect of this speech, so unconventional and to the point, was astounding throughout Germany. On

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December 17th, the last session of this "School Quest" conference took place, and the Kaiser made the closing speech. He said in it that if he had been silent in his opening address on the matter of religious instruction, he had done so because he thought that on that point his views were perfectly and generally understood. Of course, he desired ardently "that religious sentiment and the spark of Christian spirit be carefully and persistently nursed in the public schools." He thanked the members of the conference for their painstaking and efficient labors, and then went on:

"Gentlemen, we live in a period of transition and progress into a new century, and it has ever been the prerogative of my house—I mean, my ancestors have always proven that they, feeling the pulse of their time, understood how to see ahead and discern what was coming. Thus they have remained at the head of every movement, directing it and guiding it to new goals. I believe I have been able to divine the new spirit hurrying us on towards the end of this century. I am resolved, as I have done in approaching the social reforms needed, to tread new paths in forming our young generation, new paths being absolutely required. For if we do not tread these new paths now, we should be compelled to tread them within twenty years hence. . . .

"Summing up briefly, I should like to say to you, before concluding, that there is another motto of my house: *Suum cuique*—that is, to each his own; and not, to each the same. So far the road for our youth has led from the Thermopylæ over Cannæ to Rossbach and Vionville. I want to lead them hereafter from Sedan and Gravelotte over Leuthen and Rossbach back to Mantinea and to Thermopylæ. I believe this to be the right road, and that is the one we shall have to take with our youth. . . ."

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Shortly after the Kaiser issued a decree to his Minister of Education, directing him to appoint from the members of the late conference a special committee whose task it should be to visit a number of the model and most progressive schools in Prussia and elsewhere, to study all the material bearing on the matter in hand, and then to prepare a report embodying definite propositions for reform in the higher public schools. He dwelt in it, also, on the necessity of increasing the salaries paid teachers in these schools. The date of introducing, provisionally at first and on a small scale, the reform principles advocated by him, and in the main adopted by the members of the late conference, was fixed by the Kaiser as the beginning of April, 1892.

The school reform thus energetically inaugurated by him, however, took shape but very slowly. The influence of the movement, indeed, was not perceptible in the country at large for years after. The staid and conservative "philologist party" in Germany, the one which the Kaiser specially abhorred, was too strong for him. But the ball had been set rolling, and public discussion between the adherents of "classicism" and of "technicalism," as it was called, drew ever-widening circles. Some few "reform" gymnasia were established, and the one at Frankfort-on-Main made itself much talked about.

Meanwhile, the recommendation made by the Kaiser for the general adoption by pupils and students of manly, healthful sport bore fruit much more rapidly. Rowing and swimming more particularly became regular college sports in Germany, and expert oarsmanship came to be admired and emulated by these young men. The Kaiser fostered this development in every possible way, and on his birthday, on January 27, 1898, he issued a decree regulating the regattas and inter-collegiate contests, which had meanwhile become a reg-

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ular feature of student life in Germany, stripping them of some objectionable features that had recently crept in. He and the Empress have frequently attended on such occasions, and have awarded prizes to the victors, often prizes of considerable intrinsic value and to be held permanently, such as silver cups, wreaths, etc.

William II. has shown from the outset a strong liking for, and appreciation of, applied sciences. This fact is one of those best known of him. To mark his high estimate and to encourage technical progress in Germany, the Kaiser, despite the systematic opposition of the "classicists"—still the dominant school in Germany, and holding the overwhelming majority of government and otherwise influential offices in the empire—conferred upon the technical academies and high-schools in Prussia the privilege of conferring the degree of doctor, the title being designated and abbreviated as "Dr. Ing." This occasioned strenuous protests on the part of many university professors and others. To Professor Riedler, the rector of the largest and best-equipped technical high-school in Germany, the one in Charlottenburg, near Berlin, after that functionary had thanked the monarch for the new honor conferred, the Kaiser made an impromptu and interesting reply. In it he said:

" . . . I wanted to put the technical high-schools in the foreground, for their mission in the near future will be an extremely important one. The tasks falling to their share are not only technical, but also social ones. The latter have so far not been solved in the way I should like. You can exert a strong influence upon social conditions because of your many and intimate relations to labor and to the laboring classes, and because of the chances you have to mould methods of production. You are, therefore, destined to fulfil great

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tasks in the times to come. The methods now in vogue have, I am sorry to say, wholly failed in the social sense. I count upon the technical high-schools. Social Democracy I look upon as ephemeral; it will run its course. But you must make plain to your pupils their social obligations to the working-people, and not neglect the great general missions confronting us and them. Once more, I count upon you. There will be neither lack of work for you nor of appreciation. Our technical achievements are widely recognized. We need, ourselves, much technical intelligence in the country. . . . The reputation of our German technical science is even today an enviable one. Our best families, after a period of aloofness, are now beginning to send their sons into technical careers, and I hope this will increase. In other countries, too, your reputation is a very high one, and foreigners speak with the greatest enthusiasm of the technical education received here. It is well that foreigners are also admitted to our institutions. That creates respect for our labors. In England, too, I found the greatest respect for our German technical science. Only recently I heard repeatedly how highly esteemed German technical science and achievements are in England. . . .”

At the centennial celebration of the technical high-school in Charlottenburg, on October 19, 1899, the Kaiser delivered another address, in the course of which he made use of the following language:

“ . . . I do not doubt that the scientific efforts of the technical high-schools will not interfere with the necessary and close connection with practical life, and that these schools will continue to keep in intimate and incessant touch with the latter, drawing thence all the time new strength and sustenance. The statues of the

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two men which will henceforth ornament the frontage of this house¹ symbolically prove that. So long as you keep the memory of these two men alive, and strive after them, German technical science will always be able to compete honorably in the race with other nations. . . .

“ . . . Thus the new century will find us ready and well prepared for the tasks which the rapidly growing development of civilization everywhere calls upon technical science to solve. Astounding have been the triumphs of technical science in our days; but they were only possible because the Creator of heaven and earth has endowed man with the capacity and the impulse to penetrate deeper and deeper into the mysteries of nature, to ascertain the laws and the forces of nature, in order to make them serviceable for mankind's welfare. Thus, like every other true science, technics also leads us back to the origin of all things, to the Almighty Creator, and, humbly thanking Him, we must bow in the dust before Him. . . .”

It was fully ten years after the Kaiser had first started out reforming the higher schools of Germany, on November 26, 1900, that he once more took up the task. In a long and explicit decree of that date he ordered that the reform measures which had begun to be practically applied in 1892 be continued and considerably amplified on the same lines. He predicated the following:

The three classes of higher schools in Germany—viz., the gymnasium, the “real gymnasium,” and the “upper real school,” were henceforth to be considered, each in its own sphere, as of equal value.

To specialize each of them more than had hitherto

¹Krupp and Siemens.—ED.

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been the case. "I particularly wish to emphasize," said the Kaiser, in this paragraph of his document, "that in view of the great importance which a knowledge of English has acquired, more attention be devoted to that language hereafter in the gymnasia."

While unmistakable progress had been made since 1892 in the methods of tuition, more had to be done in that line. The principals had to remember that *multum, non multa*, was the proper motto for them. Teachers must devote less attention to formalism and more to the spirit of what they teach.

In modern languages, the ability to acquire conversational command of them, and a good knowledge of the leading authors, were to be more considered.

In a final paragraph the Kaiser recommended that the whole scheme of reform was to proceed on the plan practically tested for a number of years in several Prussian cities, particularly Frankfort-on-Main and Altona. That had been the establishment and operation of schools conducted on the principles laid down by the "School Quest" commission in 1890.

XIV

RELATIONS TO ART AND SCIENCE

The Kaiser's early artistic talent—One of his paintings at a Berlin exposition—His intercourse with Baron von Berger and with many other artists—How he decorated the orchestral leader Muck—His address to the members of the royal theatres—"Nurse the ancient traditions"—His conception of art and its mission—Donating the Schack collection to the city of Munich—Conferring the highest Prussian decoration on Menzel—His sharp condemnation of the German "Secession"—Private lectures to him by leading inventors—His speech at the bicentenary of the Prussian Academy of Sciences—Attending the Nuremberg celebration of the Germanic Museum—Bavarian indignation at an imperial telegram.

IN complete accord with the Kaiser's peculiar character, and with the exalted conception he has of his duties and prerogatives as a monarch, he has since the beginning of his reign not alone shown a strong and abiding interest in German art and science, but has also guided both, but more especially art and literature, in the path they should go to be in consonance with his own convictions. In fact, in this particular he has shown, almost more than in anything else, his autocratic tendencies. Opinion as to the results thus achieved by him, for good or evil, is very much divided, not only in Germany proper, but the wide world over. That they have, however, been very marked ones there is no doubt. He has powerfully influenced the whole current of German aspirations and achievement in art,

literature, and science. He has greatly circumscribed and narrowed the independent movement in German art and literature known as the "Secession." A large part of contemporaneous German sculpture and painting bears his impress.

Unquestionably, he inherited strong artistic leanings, coupled with some talent, from his mother, the Empress Frederick, who shared her tastes and skill in that respect with all the other daughters of Queen Victoria. She caused this nascent talent of the boy to be systematically trained. A painter of mediocre gifts, Knackfuss, in Cassel, taught the Kaiser what he knows of the use of the brush and pencil. The Kaiser has kept on practising ever since, but after attaining to the throne he did a great deal more in the line of suggestions, orders, and criticism.

In 1886 an oil-painting by the then Prince William was exhibited at the annual Berlin art exposition, bearing its maker's full name and title. It was a landscape, showing a snow-capped mountain in the background and the sea and some naval vessels in gun-practice in the fore. The painting, however, did not create much of a sensation at the time, and it was, to tell the truth, slightly crude in execution and amateurish in conception. With the pencil the Kaiser has done some better work, though never anything which would have attracted attention by its intrinsic merit.

Architectural plans and drawings submitted to him he has often altered, rapidly indicating his ideas by rough sketches on the margin. He suggested to his old teacher, Knackfuss, historical canvases on given topics, and sketched the symbolical drawing, "Nations of Europe, Guard Your Most Cherished Treasures" (aimed at China), and subsequently presented copies of it to various monarchs. He designed models for the ornamentation of various German war-vessels, among

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them the iron-clad cruiser *Bismarck*. The draft of the gigantic bronze archangel St. Michael, the German patron saint, now standing on the battle-field of St. Privat, in Lorraine, was made by him, and used by the sculptor Schott. The German battle painter Röchling received sketches and suggestions for his work from the Kaiser. The same may be said of many other painters and sculptors, like Sir Hubert Herkomer, Vilma Parlaghy; the American sculptress in Berlin, Mrs. Cadwalader Guild; the Polish painter Von Kossak, the German veteran artist Menzel, and others.

The Kaiser's greatest love belongs to the stage. He is of opinion that it is a monarch's duty and privilege to foster, superintend, and guide the stage, as it is one of the most effective means of influencing the mind and convictions of the masses and to mould them to his own. In his own language, it is one of his "best weapons." It is known how he has sketched a number of plays himself, and how he has furnished material, ideas, or the central plot of others to a number of German writers. At first it was Ernst von Wildenbruch, undoubtedly one of the most powerful German dramatists, with whom he thus collaborated in several historical pieces, like "Emperor Henry IV.," "Die Quitzows," and others, but Wildenbruch had too much independence of character and too high an opinion of his own gifts to bend sufficiently to his imperial collaborer's caprices and desires, and the partnership, after a while, when it had become irksome to both, was dissolved. Then the Kaiser turned to a retired army officer, a former artillery captain, Joseph Lauff by name, and used him as his mannikin. With him the case stood otherwise. Lauff complied with every imperial whim, but his ability to realize concretely his exalted partner's ideas and suggestions did not correspond with the degree of his willingness so to do. None

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of the plays furnished the German stage by the firm of Lauff & Hohenzollern amounts to much, and none of them will live.

The Berlin author and theatrical manager, L'Aronge, had the Kaiser for partner in the rearrangement and modernizing of "Regina," an old opera by Lortzing, and Weber's romantic opera "Oberon" was similarly treated by the Kaiser. In both cases a fair amount of skill is shown. The Kaiser has a very extensive acquaintance among theatrical folk of every kind, and on innumerable occasions, both during the preparation and performance of plays, has testified to his intense interest in this line. Everybody admits his natural, instinctive gift for stage-setting, scenery, for bringing out theatrical effects, and for tasteful and novel costuming. In those lines his incentive has been of value to the German stage.

Baron von Berger, an Austrian, with whom the Kaiser had become very well acquainted during his several visits to Vienna, and who, as a successful and original-minded theatrical manager had held frequent converse with the German monarch on stage matters, became, in June, 1899, the director of the newly erected Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Hamburg, a model institution. The Kaiser sent a sympathetic message to Berger, expressing gratification at the latter's assumption of these duties. Subsequently Berger was summoned before the Kaiser in order to explain all his plans, and, later on, gave this detailed account of his impressions:

"... Whenever Emperor William II. has a conversation with anybody, there is no help—he is bound to extract that person's real opinions. . . . Singular enough is such a conversation with him, however, and it requires iron nerves to hold out, or one collapses. As soon as that moment arrives, the Kaiser stops. He confines himself almost wholly to questions. Rarely he develops his own views. But when

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he does, an astonishing delicacy of sentiment, coupled with a sharply defined and aphoristic mode of expressing himself, is displayed. In his questions he shows the born leader. . . . First he sounds his man. A few answers, and he knows his ground. Then comes question after question, and he advances closer and closer, until the whole topic has been wrung out and nothing more remains to be told. In these questions he betrays an unusually keen and comprehensive intellect. . . . None of his questions is off the mark. He steers direct for his aim, and is bound to learn all one knows of a given matter. His range of reading, too, and his retentive memory are amazing. From many of his remarks I could see that he knows modern literature thoroughly. . . . His wide range of reading is facilitated by his capacity of rapidly imbibing the essence of a book. Is he in sympathy with modern German literature? I think not. Art is looked upon by him as the chief educational agency at hand. How does he view modern art? Not very favorably. Modern German dramatic art does not satisfy him for various reasons; for one thing, he loves powerful, heroic deeds and events which sway the destinies of nations. Can a kaiser, standing on the summit of a great empire, and having grown up in the shadow of great events, feel otherwise about art?"

Referring to Joseph Lauff and his collaboration with the Kaiser, Baron von Berger says:

"He is not great enough as a dramatist to be able to realize the grand conceptions of the Kaiser, who looks for grandeur, 'world-moving' characters, pomp and pageant, and glorious beauty in art. . . ."

The chief orchestral leader at the royal theatres in Berlin, Dr. Muck, personally conducted, a couple of years ago, an unusually fine concert before the Kaiser and his court in Potsdam. The Kaiser had mentioned his intention of decorating with his own hand, before the entire audience, this artist, for whom, as a musician, he has a high regard. It was the order of the Red Eagle he wished to confer, and during the concert he begged the chief court-marshal, Count Eulenburg, to

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bring him the insignia of this order. This functionary, however, replied that he was unable to lay his hands on these insignia at a moment's notice, and out in Potsdam. But the Kaiser replied: "Why, nothing easier. Just hunt up one of my aides-de-camp and borrow his Red Eagle for me." Which was done, and the Kaiser then strode up to Muck, affixing the decoration to his bosom, smilingly saying: "For the moment I have unhooked it from the breast of one of my aides, since I wanted to decorate you myself."

The day after the tenth anniversary of his accession had been celebrated, in 1898, the Kaiser assembled around him the members of the three royal stages in Berlin, and standing in the centre of this vast group, in the concert-hall of the Royal Opera-house, he made them a speech, in which occurred some significant passages. He said:

"... I am of opinion that the royal stage is an instrument of the monarch, just like the school and the university, and that its aim must be to educate the growing generation for the task of preserving the highest intellectual possessions of our beautiful German fatherland. The theatre must also contribute to the culture of mind and character, and to the ennobling of our ethical conceptions. The theatre, too, is one of my weapons. . . . It is a monarch's duty to foster the stage, and both my father and grandfather believed this. . . . I thank you for cherishing so ably our grand, sonorous tongue, and also the creations of our intellectual heroes as well as those of other nations, and that you have interpreted them so well. I also thank you for fulfilling so conscientiously my every desire, expressed or implied. Joyfully I can say now that all nations watch attentively our royal theatres and admiringly contemplate our achievements. . . . I ask you to continue

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in assisting me, each of you in his place and in his way, to serve in the spirit of idealism, and to fight the battle against materialism and against those un-German notions to which, I am sorry to say, so many German stages have succumbed. . . .”

Some of the above remarks were aimed at the “new German drama” and its leaders—above all, Hauptmann and Sudermann, both of whom the Kaiser has repeatedly taken pains to censure and discriminate against. How far he went in this respect is shown by the fact that when the national judges of Germany had twice awarded the great Schiller prize to Gerhart Hauptmann for his symbolical drama, “The Sunken Bell,” the Kaiser nullified their decision and gave the prize to Ernst von Wildenbruch.

In 1902 the Kaiser presented, on the stage of his theatre in Wiesbaden, a series of specially gorgeous performances of Weber’s rearranged opera “Oberon,” and after one of these performances he received, in special audience, in May of that year, the editor of the Paris woman’s journal, *La Fronde*, Mademoiselle Marguerite Durand, in the foyer of the theatre. He made some interesting remarks to her, saying, among other things:

“Not only an important factor in instructing the masses, in propagating sound ethics, must the stage be, but also the embodiment of elegance and beauty and the realization of the artist’s dream. We must not leave the performance depressed by the memory of saddening or demoralizing pictures, of bitter disappointments, but invigorated afresh to do battle for our ideals, and feeling happier than before. . . . Life is sad enough, and part of its daily doings is to put before our eyes the most dispiriting reality. Those modern au-

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thors who take pains to make us see on the stage such disillusioning pictures have unhealthy ideals, and perform a work which does more evil than good."

Then the Kaiser, speaking his French in his usual jerky, rapid style, came to chat of the ideas that had dominated him in presenting "Oberon" in the guise it had been seen that evening, and to the Frenchwoman's admiring comment he made answer:

" . . . The public, believe me, madame, is at heart of my opinion. This 'Oberon,' whose fairy-like decorations and whose stage-setting have pleased so much to-night, has been performed here in Wiesbaden, inside of two years, no fewer than seventy times, always with popular applause. Hülsen¹ has outdone himself. He is a splendid fellow, who understands my ideas and knows how to translate them into reality. He is an incessantly active, a great, a very great, artist. . . ."

In 1894, Count von Schack, a noted art connoisseur and collector, died in Munich and left as a legacy to the Kaiser his famous collection of paintings and sculptures, housed in a building of classic outline and specially constructed for the purpose. The citizens of Munich were quite wrought up about this, fearing the removal of these art treasures to Berlin or Potsdam. The Kaiser, however, not only deeded over the collection itself to the city of Munich, but he also purchased its site and the structure containing the collection, and presented them to Munich. On May 14, 1894, a delegation of aldermen from Munich waited on the monarch in the New Palace, Potsdam, to present the formal

¹ Herr von Hülsen here referred to, after serving as "intendant" of the Kaiser's theatre in Wiesbaden for some years, was recently appointed general manager of the royal drama and opera in Berlin, displacing Count Hochberg.—ED.

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thanks of Bavaria's capital. The Kaiser replied to their address in a very friendly manner.

On May 2, 1894, the Berlin Academy of Arts celebrated its bicentenary in the presence of the Kaiser, who addressed the members at some length, saying:

“ . . . To you has been intrusted the sacred mission of nourishing the flame of genuine artistic enthusiasm, without which all toil in the field of art becomes worthless. As true and chosen guardians of this holy fire, keep firm hold of the traditional ideals, and you can always count on my imperial protection and fostering care. . . . ”

The deep interest felt by William II. in all art matters is illustrated by his frequent visits to studios of painters and sculptors, both in Berlin and elsewhere. On such occasions he has often behaved with great and unaffected amiability, chatting on art life and cognate topics in unconventional style. He has also been for many years a generous patron of art, and a large part of his private revenues has been spent in works ordered by him. Financially speaking, there has never been a Prussian ruler during whose reign artists have flourished so greatly. To testify publicly to his high appreciation of art, he created, on New-year's Day, 1899, Professor Menzel a knight of the Black Eagle, the highest Prussian decoration, usually conferred only on crowned heads or high dignitaries. The order carries with it a patent of nobility. Menzel, the Nestor of Berlin artists, had earned the monarch's special encomiums because of his series of fine paintings glorifying Frederick the Great and other Prussian kings. In his letter to the director of the Art Academy, Anton von Werner, the Kaiser refers to this when he says that he wished specially to honor Menzel “ as a token of gratitude for

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the services rendered my house." And in another letter to the Society of Berlin Artists, the Kaiser, after thanking that body for the appreciation shown at the signal honor conferred upon one of their craft, dwells once more on Menzel's patriotism, and then expresses the hope that his example will be followed, and that German art will indeed be national in its spirit.

This last phrase was once more aimed at the "Secession," whose modern methods and whose broad, cosmopolitan spirit he abhors.

He administered another stinging rebuke to the school of "Secession" on December 18, 1901. On that day he had invited the sculptors—about two score of them—who had executed all the marble images of his ancestors in the Siegesallee, the main avenue crossing the Thiergarten, Berlin's finest public park. This "ancestral gallery" the Kaiser had paid for out of his own pocket, and the whole work, one of considerable magnitude, and involving an outlay of close on to a million dollars, had been done according to his own suggestions and, in many cases, his explicit commands. The sculptors engaged in this work for a period of about three years had, of course, been selected by him, and were one and all sound in the matter of "traditional ideals." On this particular day he gave them a banquet in the royal castle, Berlin, and the affair must have been highly enjoyable for all concerned. There was an entire absence of pomp or court etiquette, all his guests being seated at one long table, with the imperial Mæcenas in the middle of the long row. Towards the close of the feast the Emperor made a long speech, in which occurred several passages of general interest. He said:

" . . . The historian of my house, Professor Dr. Koser, furnished me with the material submitted to

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you, gentlemen, and which enabled you to put my ideas into tangible form. . . . It was my opinion that I could show to the world the easiest solution for artistic tasks like mine—not commissions, not competitions, no prize juries, but simply, in the same way it had been done in the classic age and in mediæval times, by direct communication between patron and artist, thus furnishing the best guarantee for the successful shaping and completion of the whole work. I am, therefore, under special obligation to Professor Reinhold Begas¹ for assuring me that there was quite sufficient talent in Berlin to carry out, most satisfactorily, such an idea as mine. . . . In art, as in nature, the same eternal, immutable law governs—the law of beauty, the law of harmony, the law of æsthetics. This law the ancients apprehended so amazingly, so overpoweringly, that we to-day, with our modern sentiments and with all our knowledge, are proud if we are told, after completing something especially good: This is almost as fine as they made it nineteen hundred years ago—but only *almost*, remember.

“It is in this sense and under this impression I should like to say to you: Sculpture has thus far remained almost totally free from the influence of the so-called modern ideas and currents. It still stands high and pure. Keep it so, and do not allow yourselves to be misled by gibes and by the criticism of the multitude, nor to abandon the principles upon which sculpture is founded. . . . Under the flag of that much-abused word, liberty, many fall away into lawlessness, anarchy,

¹ Professor Begas, after enjoying the Kaiser's favor in a very marked degree for many years, and who was chosen by him to execute a number of monumental sculptural works, including the great national monument to

William I. in Berlin, as well as the one to Bismarck in front of the Reichstag structure, has recently fallen from grace, and is at present in outspoken disfavor with his imperial master the Kaiser.—Ed.

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and self-sufficiency. Whoever turns his back upon the law of beauty loses the sentiment of harmony and æsthetics, . . . and whoever begins to see his main work in a special direction, in a special solution of the purely technical tasks of art, sins against the primal sources of art. But, more than this, art has the mission to aid in educating the masses. She is to enable the lower classes, after their hard toil and labor is over for the day, to revive and be lifted up above the ordinary in contemplation of the ideal. To us, to the German people, the great ideals have become permanent possessions, whereas the other nations have lost them—more or less. Solely the German people remains, and our special mission it is to hoard, to foster, and to continue these great thoughts. And one of these ideals consists in furnishing the perspiring and toiling masses the possibility to rejoice in beauty and to lift themselves up, for the time being, out of their every-day circle of narrow, brutish thoughts. If, however, art, as is nowadays often the case, does nothing but to represent this human misery in even more repulsive form than reality furnishes us with, she injures and sins against the German people. The nurture of ideals is the greatest task of civilization, and if in that respect we mean to be and remain a model to the other nations, our whole country must help in the task. And if civilization means to fulfil its mission entirely, it must percolate and permeate down to the lowest strata of the population. That it can only do if art stretches out her hand, if art lifts up instead of pulling down into the gutter. As ruler of this country I feel it sometimes bitterly when art, as embodied in her masters, does not oppose such currents energetically enough. I do not deny for a moment that there is many a serious-minded and ambitious disciple among the adherents of those currents, many a one,

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perhaps, guided by the best intentions. But he is, nevertheless, on the wrong path. . . .”

On January 25, 1902, the Kaiser paid a visit to the Berlin Museum of Applied Art, there to dedicate a portrait of the late Emperor and Empress Frederick, who were also the founders of this fine institution which has done so much to revive the cunning handicraft and the artistic sense of the artisan in mediæval Germany. He was welcomed by Professor Dr. Richard Schöne, the chief curator of the Berlin museums, who made an address, to which the monarch replied. He first paid a graceful tribute to the memory of his parents, and then he dwelt upon the great mission of this particular museum, pointing out to its pupils the example furnished by their ancestors, and that in a period of renewed material prosperity, such as Germany had not seen for centuries, it was their task to revive the old and half-forgotten traditions of artistic handiwork nobly done. Then he said:

“ . . . The priceless collections garnered under this roof testify to the art and the love of art which lived in our forefathers. . . . It will be carrying out the intentions of my parents to bring this sentiment back once more to the hearts of the common people. . . . Artistic form must always go back for its inspiration to the approved beauty of former ages. . . . What was beautiful once remains beautiful forevermore. . . .”

For the exact sciences, inventions drawing their breath from these realms, and for technical progress, the Kaiser has, as the world knows, steadily evinced the liveliest interest. It is his never-ending care to keep himself abreast, in general outlines as in details, of this perpetual advance. Nothing of interest escapes him,

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and experts like Slaby, Rathenau, or Riedler, discoverers and inventors like Roentgen, Koch, or Behring, are frequently invited to explain or demonstrate to him, *en petit comité*, the latest successes of exact science. However, he turns his attention, too, to other matters, as was recently shown when he listened to a series of private lectures delivered before him by Professor Delitzsch, the noted Assyriologist, on the non-divine origin of the Old-Testamentary history of creation. All agree in saying that the Kaiser's nimble and acute intellect usually enables him to get very quickly at the gist of a matter, never mind how abstruse, and that in his questions he shows a surprising amount of well-digested and comprehensive knowledge on every possible subject. Besides which he has an ever-ready and very efficient tool by which he is greatly assisted in all this—viz., the Literary Bureau of the Prussian Department of the Interior, which supplies him daily with clippings on a wide range of topics.

The Berlin Academy of Sciences commemorated with considerable pomp, on March 19, 1900, the bicentenary of its existence. At the instance of the Kaiser, the main ceremony took place in the gorgeous White Hall of the royal castle. A small number of honorary members were created on this occasion, among them Dr. A. D. White, then American ambassador to Germany. The Kaiser announced his special gifts to the institution, including large sums for the publication of the complete works of Wilhelm von Humboldt and of other important scientific works, and the list of special appropriations made for this occasion by the Royal Ministry of Education. In a speech of some length he then answered the oration of the minister, Dr. Bosse. Among other things he said, first pointing out the unceasing solicitude shown for the academy by his predecessors, above all by Frederick the Great:

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“ . . . In increasing the number of chairs in the philosophic - historical class, especially those for the special study and research of the German tongue, I had in view the fact that now, under a reunited empire, this branch of science deserves to be fostered with particular care, and the fundamental charter of this institution, of the year 1700, lays stress on this point. But it was also necessary to increase the chairs for the study and research of the physico-mathematical class, in view of the incomparably heightened importance of it and because of the enormous progress in technical sciences. . . . In this unselfish devotion to science, to which the academy owes much, and which guarantees its continuance and the fruitfulness of its labors, this institution at the same time serves the divine will, whose decrees bid mankind to penetrate deeper and ever deeper into the knowledge of God's purposes. . . . ”

On June 16, 1902, the Kaiser and a number of other German sovereigns attended the jubilee of the Germanic Museum in Nuremberg. The Kaiser presented to that institution a valuable collection of historical seals, including those of all the Teutonic rulers, from Pippin to Francis II., enclosed in a very finely carved cabinet. After speeches by the director of the museum, Von Bezold, and by the protector of it, the Prince-Regent of Bavaria, the Kaiser read, in a penetrating voice that could be heard over the wide expanse, a document in which he briefly reviewed the history of the institution from its foundation by King Louis I. of Bavaria and King John of Saxony to the present, and drew attention to the patriotic purposes subserved by it.

From August 6th to 9th, 1902, the Kaiser was on a visit to Reval, Russia, where he met Czar Nicholas II.

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On his return to Stettin, August 10th, he learned for the first time of an incident in the Bavarian Parliament. The Ultramontane members of it had refused, in a spirit of pique at the dismissal of one of their number from a high government office, to grant the customary sums for Bavarian art purposes. In his impulsive way, the Kaiser at once wired to the Prince-Regent of Bavaria as follows:

“Just returned from my voyage, I read with deepest indignation of the refusal to grant the sums you asked for art purposes. I hasten to express my anger at the vile ingratitude which finds vent in this action, an ingratitude not alone shown to the House of Wittelsbach, but also towards your august person, which has consistently shone as a model for the promotion of and help to art. I beg of you to permit me to place at your disposal the sum required to enable you to carry out fully those art projects which you have in mind.”

The Prince-Regent, however, answered in a rather reserved manner, several of the sentences in his reply being generally construed as a reminder to the Kaiser that he was needlessly meddling with Bavarian internal affairs, and winding up with the declaration that a wealthy member of the Bavarian Upper House had already donated the entire sum needed.

Throughout Bavaria, however, indignation was openly expressed at what the local press styled “this unwarranted interference in their home politics.” At the reconvening of the Reichstag, some months later, a Bavarian leader of the Centre, Dr. Schaedler, lent voice to this indignation.

XV

FURTHERING COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION

Dedicating the free port of Hamburg—Inspecting the ships of the North German Lloyd—Promising all possible aid to German shipping—The Kaiser explains his programme on board a Lloyd steamer—Lauding the progressive spirit of the Stettin citizens—His ideas about aquatic sports—The Dortmund-Ems Canal—His despatch after the great Lloyd fire in Hoboken—Congratulating the record-breaker *Deutschland*—Significant words in Danzig—Emphasizing the need of a large navy.

THERE is no room for doubt that the phenomenal advance of Germany in commerce and navigation during the last decade is in good measure due to the Kaiser's never-ceasing encouragement, to the intelligent interest shown by him in this progress, and to the pressure he exerted upon German national legislation favoring such advance.

Some of his speeches contain such crisp, telling phrases in behalf of commercial and trans-oceanic expansion, that they have since become mottoes for the German people. His graphic saying, "Our future lies on the water," which he interjected into an address on the opening of the large, new harbor of Stettin, belongs to this category.

A few months after his accession, on October 29, 1888, in laying the corner-stone of the new free port of Hamburg, he inaugurated the ceremonies by three taps with his mallet, saying:

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“In honor of God.

“For the fatherland’s welfare.

“For Hamburg’s progress.”

And at the great feast afterwards given by the city of Hamburg, the Kaiser spoke appreciatively of the patriotism of the citizens, of his former visits there, and of his steadfast efforts to preserve peace and to promote general prosperity. Then he said:

“Gentlemen, this is a day full of meaning in the direction indicated. The great work the completion of which we all celebrate is the first one in a series of important measures intended to benefit the interior development of the empire, and it gives me special pleasure that it is your city which is the first to profit. . . . You are doing great service for the fatherland, for it is you who unite us by invisible bonds with far-away continents, bringing thence their products. And it is you who scatter our ideas and convictions over the whole world. For this the fatherland owes you vast thanks.”

On April 1, 1890, the Kaiser laid the foundation-stone in Bremen for a monument to his grandfather. He delivered himself at some length on this occasion, saying, among other things:

“. . . I deem it my highest duty to safeguard the empire in the enjoyment of all which we have a right to claim, and to foster and enlarge our interests. Especially, though, am I glad to have this opportunity for assuring you that I, so far as my government and I are able to do so, mean to see to it that the commerce and the magnificent enterprise of your city be allowed to unfold themselves quietly and to flourish more and more.”

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From Bremen he undertook, on the same day, a trip to Bremerhaven, where he inspected thoroughly the ships, docks, warehouses, and other buildings of the North German Lloyd. While on board the *Fulda*, one of the large Lloyd steamers, he said:

“ . . . I can say that among the manifold interests which I have to keep an eye on, so far as my government and the empire are concerned, there is scarcely a thing which fills me with greater sympathy than the life and progress of your society. Every new ship you order built, every success which your ships score, every new line which you establish, is a source of pleasure and pride to me, and not only to me, but to many others in the interior of the country who feel the same thrill of joy at your steady advance. . . .

“Of course, it is one of my chief cares to maintain peace. . . . For trade and shipping can only prosper when business is protected under the ægis of lasting peace. There may be moments when the business world begins to indulge fears, and when the outsider thinks that times of danger are approaching. But do not lose heart—often things do not look so black when viewed closely.

“To use a simile, I should like to tell you of a little incident from which I, as an enthusiastic sailor, and conforming to a German habit, which makes one draw conclusions, judging natural phenomena by one's self, deduce a lesson for all of us. It happened on my first trip with our naval squadron to the Baltic. We were running through thick fog since three in the morning. Only the tooting and shrieking of the steam-sirens were audible, and from time to time cannon-shots, which indicated the position of the various vessels. At eight o'clock the course was to be changed. The fog on board was so thick that one could not even see as far

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as the chart-house, let alone seeing another ship, and there were doubts as to how the change of course could be effected. It was, however, effected, and about an hour later my *Hohenzollern* suddenly emerged out of the fog-bank, and we were going, with a stiff breeze, under a sapphire sky and bright sunshine. In the rear, however, the fog still lay like an enormous cloud upon the surface of the sea, and only the shrill sounds of the sirens could be heard from that direction. But all at once, high up in the mist, apparently borne aloft by the hand of a cherub, the German flag was seen flying onward. It was the admiral's flag, flying from the mast-head of the *Kaiser*, which, leading the division and still in the fog, had followed us. . . . Ten minutes later the entire squadron appeared, in faultless order and steering the new course, issuing, one by one, out of the fog.

"Well, gentlemen, let this little incident teach us that, no matter if our country, our navy, and our commerce are to have their dark hours and their fog-banks, they will emerge unscathed, and they will reach their destination, according to the good motto, 'We Germans fear God, and naught beside.'

"And, therefore, I should like to ask you: Whenever you read in the papers or notice in public affairs things which do not seem to please you, which you do not understand, and whenever my remarks or conversations are interpreted in all sorts of ways—as happens, I am sorry to say, very frequently—always remember what I have just told you, and remember also what one of the ancient German emperors once said: 'A Kaiser's word is not to be twisted nor misread!'"

On June 1, 1896, the Kaiser sent a telegram to the North German Lloyd, apprising the directors that he had granted permission to all German merchant

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vessels whose captains were inscribed on the rolls of the naval militia to carry the iron cross on their flag, as a mark of distinction and appreciation.

The Kaiser undertook, on March 25, 1898, an excursion on board the fastest Lloyd steamer, the *Wilhelm der Grosse*, starting from Bremerhaven, then passing Heligoland, and some distance north. The trip was to inaugurate the service of the new vessel. On board, during dinner, the Kaiser was toasted by one of the Lloyd directors, Plate, and made a reply, saying:

“ . . . You have mentioned in a flattering way my efforts to safeguard peace. If it has been given me to preserve peace during the whole time I have been at the head of affairs, we must remember the heroic form of the first German Emperor of Hohenzollern blood, who with the expenditure of his whole strength created for us in the army that bulwark which alone has vouchsafed peace to the fatherland up to this hour. For only by living under the blessings of peace may a nation develop. We, who are assembled to-day so joyously on board of this ship, could never have done so if peace had not been kept and enforced. . . . May it be permitted to Germany, striving ever onward, to develop her trade and her material interests into a healthy blossom. May the North German Lloyd succeed in remaining the first in the field, and to collaborate in this aim.”

A few months later, on June 20, 1898, the Kaiser was on board the *Pretoria*, of the Hamburg-American line, off Cuxhaven. The president of the North German Regatta Association, Burgomaster Versmann, of Hamburg, pointed out in a speech that the *Pretoria* was the largest merchant vessel afloat at the time. He said this fact was significant, because Germany had

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at last seriously engaged in the task of regaining the first position in the world's sea-trade, a position which during the Middle Ages she had held, but which unkind fate and grave national reverses had wrested from her grasp. The Kaiser had listened attentively to this speech, and after the cheers which Versmann's remarks had elicited had died away, he first spoke of the high value of aquatic sports, and expressed gratification that the well-timed races of the North German Regatta Association had given him a chance to open up the Kiel regattas by these races at the mouth of the Elbe. He spoke of the great hygienic benefits to be derived from rowing and sailing, and that this sport gave nerves of steel. Then he dwelt, as he had done on many previous occasions, on the interest he felt in commerce and industry, and acknowledged a debt of gratitude to the merchants and ship-owners of the Hansa towns,¹ who had often furnished him with valuable hints and original views which had been of subsequent service to him. It was due, in part, to his intercourse with the enterprising and far-sighted citizens of the Hansa towns that his views had undergone considerable modification, and that he had become firmly convinced of the absolute necessity for Germany to expand in navigation and transmarine trade. The Kaiser concluded this speech, which was wholly unprepared and informal, by assuring those present—nearly all of whom were representative merchants of Hamburg or Bremen—that they could always count on the empire's protection in their undertakings abroad.

¹Of the old German Hansa, a confederation of towns comprising at its most flourishing period seventy-two important harbor and inland cities, but three remain to-day—viz., Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck. They enjoy a republican form of government, but form part of the empire, and send their representatives both to the Bundesrath (Federal Council) and Reichstag, sharing in national legislation.—ED.

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The new harbor of Stettin, which enlarged the shipping facilities of that Baltic emporium enormously, was dedicated, on September 23, 1898, with much pomp and ceremony. The imperial couple attended, and to the oration of the chief burgomaster, Hacken, the Kaiser replied. He first referred to the fact that the city's growing prosperity was due, in the first place, to his grandfather's wise measures abolishing the ancient fortress walls which had confined the old town within too narrow limits. Then he spoke of the "genuine Pomeranian obstinacy" which had made Stettin hold firm to its purpose of gaining free elbow-room and a fair chance to ply the ocean. He continued:

"I am glad of that, for I see that the old Pomeranian spirit, doughty and reckless, is still alive in you, and that it has driven you on the water. Our future lies on the sea, and I am firmly convinced that your endeavors, which you especially, Herr Chief Burgomaster, have promoted with far-seeing eye and with never-ceasing effort, will, centuries hence, make your name dear to the grateful citizens of Stettin. As your liege and monarch, I offer you my thanks for having brought Stettin to its present flourishing condition, and I hope and trust—I might almost say, I demand—that the city will go on developing at the same rate, and that its purposes may never be troubled by partisan feeling, but will always be directed towards the common good, thus lifting you up to an altitude of prosperity which we at present can scarcely foretell. Such is my wish."

On June 17, 1899, the Kaiser witnessed the Elbe regattas at Brunsbüttel, and then went on board the Hamburg-American liner *Fürst Bismarck*, where he personally distributed the prizes in the ladies' saloon.

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At eight o'clock was served a gorgeous banquet in the dining-saloon, which had been tastefully decorated with flags and flowers for the occasion. Some one hundred and eighty persons partook, among them the Kaiser and his large suite, the participants at the regatta, and some of the directors and shareholders of the Hamburg-American line. The Kaiser sat between the Hamburg burgomaster, Mönckeberg, and the president of the Hamburg-American line, Ballin. Mönckeberg proposed the toast to the Emperor, attributing to the Kaiser the recent growth in Germany of aquatic sports, and drawing a parallel between that and German expansion on the seas. To this the monarch replied:

" . . . It is no flattery when I say that I always anticipate with keen pleasure the day of the Elbe regatta, for it always means to me an enjoyable holiday after hard labor. To be with men who share in my aims, with men of brains and spirit, fully appreciating the signs of the times, and who have seen and heard much, is a solace and boon to me, and it always stirs me to new thoughts and new action. . . .

" I fully expect that the growing personal intercourse between the men of the interior and those of the *wasserkante*¹ will conduce to the whole country's advantage, and will scatter much fruitful knowledge among the nation. Gentlemen, you have just told me, and I am grateful to you for it, that you support and understand my policy. It is my endeavor to discover everywhere new coigns of vantage, whence we can unfold a profitable activity. Later on our children and grandchildren will be in condition to utilize fully what we have acquired for them. Slowly, very slowly, the conviction has gained ground among our countrymen of the im-

¹ The word *wasserkante* is the popular German term that is ap-plied to the coast-line, east and west, of Germany.—Ed.

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mense importance of the sea and of sea-power, and as slowly spread a general understanding of the nature of marine affairs and interests. But this conviction has now taken hold of the national mind, and once an idea, a conviction, has become a spark in the German mind, it grows to a leaping, strong flame. Thus it will be in this case. . . .”

After the dinner the Kaiser remained on deck until one o'clock conversing in lively fashion. F. Laeiss, one of the largest Hamburg ship-owners, asked him if he would not like to view, next day, one of his vessels, then the largest sailing-vessel in the world—namely, the five-mast bark *Potosi*, plying between Hamburg and the west coast of South America. The Kaiser promised at once, slapping the old gentleman on the back in jovial mood, and answering him in the broad local dialect of Hamburg.

Promptly the next morning the Kaiser and his suite boarded the *Potosi*, examining the vessel, in his usual way, from stem to stern, and chatting with a number of the sailors. To the captain of the vessel, Hilgendorf, known on the coast as the “Flying Dutchman,” because of his fast passages, the Kaiser gave his photograph, with autograph signature.

On July 1, 1899, the Kaiser was in Lübeck, welcoming the new local yacht club as a member of the Imperial German Yacht Club, and saying: “That again is a new evidence of the nation’s wakened marine ambitions.” In his speech at the luncheon served in his honor, the Kaiser aptly used an ancient Lübeck motto he had discovered in the old session-hall of the municipal building, in counselling patience and persistency in the endeavor to regain the city’s former pre-eminence on the ocean.

The inauguration of the Dortmund-Ems Canal, join-

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ing the Westphalian city of Dortmund with the North Sea by means of a navigable canal, was attended by the Kaiser on August 11, 1899. He arrived that day in Rauxel, near Dortmund, where he was received by the chancellor of the empire and a number of ministers of the crown, afterwards proceeding, first by carriage and then by boat, to various points of interest along the canal. The school-children, headed by their masters and by the local authorities, were lined up along the whole route, cheering the Kaiser. Then the latter returned to Dortmund, to assist in the formal dedication of the new harbor for sea-going vessels. In answer to an address by the chief burgomaster of Dortmund, Schmieding, the Kaiser replied, rendering thanks for the sympathetic reception accorded him, and then saying:

“ . . . The work which I have just viewed will, I trust, enable Dortmund again to venture on the sea, as she did in former days. But this canal, I take it, is but the first part of the whole. The canal, I say, will be eventually but an integral portion of the great Midland Canal, to build and operate which both I and my government are unalterably resolved. It is, of course, difficult to spread such new and big ideas quickly among the population, and to win understanding and appreciation for them. Nevertheless I am of opinion that in time the conviction will make headway that the completion of our more important waterways is an absolute necessity, and that it will have in its wake blessings for both industry and agriculture.¹ . . .

“ . . . We must not forget that the constantly growing

¹ The Kaiser's will in this respect has, however, meanwhile been twice defeated. Two government bills, introduced successively in the Prussian Diet, failed of passage, due to Agrarian opposition. The Kaiser received the snub almost in silence.—ED.

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needs of our country imperatively demand new and easy ways of communication, and as such we must regard waterways next to railroads. The exchange of bulky commodities in the interior of the country, by which agriculture is profiting above all, can only be cheaply and easily effected by water. I am in hopes, therefore, that the representative bodies of legislation, noting this fact, will enable me to confer the blessings of this canal, if possible, in the course of this present year, on the people as a whole."

Later in the day, after a visit to the ancient Rathaus (municipal building) of Dortmund, the Kaiser elaborated still further the same train of thought. He again dwelt on the need by Germany of more numerous and inexpensive methods of communication, telling of various canal projects in olden days, and emphasized the fact that in such matters it was always the greatest good to the greatest number that deserved consideration, and that the possible incidental loss to the few ought not and could not sway the action of governments in such matters. Then he said:

" . . . Only by harmonious co-operation of agriculture and industry is it possible to promote the welfare of the whole state and to bring about progress on a sound basis."

On receipt of the news of the big fire which destroyed ships and other valuable property at the North German Lloyd docks in Hoboken, on July 3, 1900, the Kaiser, who happened to be in Wilhelmshaven at the time, wired as follows:

"The disaster which has befallen the North German Lloyd in New York fills me with genuine sorrow. The

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great loss of men and ships is a severe blow. But I am firmly convinced that the tried and proven management of the North German Lloyd will meet this trial, as it has others before now, with steadfast courage, and that the employés of the North German Lloyd in New York will have been found in this sad hour faithful to their duty."

The imperial couple paid Stettin another visit, on September 7, 1900, and to a welcoming speech by Chief Burgomaster Hacken, in which the latter referred to the German participation in quelling the disturbances in China, the Kaiser made answer, saying:

" . . . You made mention of our brothers who have gone to the far East to protect our interests there. I have confidence in them, that they will succeed in restoring there such orderly and permanent conditions as will permit the German merchant who lives and toils there to escape harm and to continue giving adequate and profitable attention to his affairs. . . ."

After the close of the annual regattas near the mouth of the Elbe River, on June 19, 1901, a dinner was given on board the Hamburg-American line pleasure yacht *Victoria Louise*. The Kaiser and his brother, Prince Henry, were among those present. The Kaiser replied to an address by Dr. Mönckeberg, the burgomaster of Hamburg, in this wise:

" . . . My chief care for the future will be that those things for which we have lately intrusted the seed to a kindly soil shall be allowed to sprout and grow in quiet security. We have obtained for ourselves a warm place in the sunlight, despite the fact that our navy is not yet what it ought to be. It

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will be my task to see that this place in the sunlight remains to us, safely and undisputed, so that the warm rays of the sun may bring forth fruit in commerce and shipping, in industry and agriculture. Our future lies on the water. The more Germans venture out upon the water, be it in competing with others in aquatic sports, be it in undertaking distant journeys on the ocean, or in the service of our navy, the better for us. For once the German will have learned to direct his gaze afar, to aim at great things; he will lose that spirit of smallness which still clings to him in his conduct of every-day life. And to gain such a free and high vision, there is no better place than one of our Hansa towns. . . . We must again begin at the point where in former days the Hansa had to leave off, because it lacked the vivifying and protecting strength of the empire. May it, therefore, be the aim and task of my house to give you, for many years to come, deep peace, thus promoting the manifold affairs of business. I consider that the events which have lately occurred in China, and which at present find a satisfactory conclusion in the return of our troops, vouchsafe us peace for many years to come. For the achievements there of the different contingents have called forth mutual respect and a feeling of comradeship, and this can only be conducive to the preservation of peace. And in this peace, I trust, our Hansa towns will flourish, and our new Hansa will trace new courses, and will find new fields of consumption for our goods. As head of the empire, I rejoice at the departure of each new Hanseate, be he Hamburger, Bremer, or Lübecker, who goes out to foreign parts, looking with his keen, unbiassed eye for new points where we may hammer in a nail on which to hang our armor. . . ."

When the Kaiser learned, on July 19, 1901, that the

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new Hamburg-American liner, the *Deutschland*, had broken the world's ocean record, having made her last trip from New York to Plymouth at an average rate of 23.51 knots (against 23.28 knots per hour thus far shown by the swiftest vessel), he wired to the management of the successful company as follows:

"Bravo, *Deutsch and!* This is a score which no other vessel in the world has yet achieved. Honor to the constructors — the tried and approved Vulcan Yard, and honor, too, to the commander and men of the vessel! I am glad that the ship's name is *Deutschland*."

On September 14, 1901, the Kaiser had a meeting with Czar Nicholas II. in Danzig. He was welcomed in that fine old town by its chief burgomaster, Delbrück. The latter rendered thanks for the constant interest shown Danzig by the monarch, saying the city walls, which had stood as an impediment to growth, had been removed, and new harbor enlargements were being constructed, and the whole town was on the high-road to unprecedented prosperity. The Kaiser replied at some length, saying:

"I am just back from a momentous meeting with my friend, the Czar of Russia, a meeting which turned out to our entire mutual satisfaction, and which once more has confirmed me in the belief that European peace will be vouchsafed the nations for many years to come. This fact relieves my heart greatly. . . . You will notice upon me the tokens of mourning. One of the last conversations I had last summer with my mother, who was even then in the grasp of a relentless malady, concerned the development of this city of Danzig. . . .

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My late mother then expressed to me the hope that the people of Danzig would not forget their glorious past, and that they would, above all, cherish and retain the heirloom of their forefathers—the beautiful architectural style of this ancient town. . . . You may be sure that my interest for the improvement and development of Danzig will ever remain the same, and you know me long enough to feel certain that whatever I have made my mind up to, that I accomplish, sooner or later. . . .”

Together with his consort, the Kaiser paid a visit to the Rhine city, Crefeld, centre of the German velvet and silk industry. After viewing the town and being welcomed in a speech by its chief burgo-master, Küper, he made reply, saying, among other things:

“ . . . Our German army stands forever ready to protect and defend our country, and respect and confidence meet it on every side. But you, living in a commercial city, will understand that another thing is needed besides our army—and that is the navy. You have experienced it in the course of its development, how it is that when our flag is unfurled on foreign shores, when our iron-clads show themselves, a feeling of respect quickly awakens in the bosoms of those populations.¹ For you a strong, powerful navy is a necessity, a navy able to protect peaceful trade and shipping, so that you can sell your products everywhere. Indeed, I believe I have done the best and most needful for you and for all other cities cultivating industry and commerce, when I exerted myself to the utmost in developing our sea-power. I

¹ The Kaiser here hinted at | fling punitive mission of Ger-
events in China and at the tri- | man vessels in Hayti.—Ed.

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am of opinion that every new man-of-war that is launched from our yards to increase our navy is an additional guarantee for the security and peace with which you can pursue your various avocations and reap the fruits of your labors. . . .”

XVI

THE KAISER AND THE TROUBLES IN CHINA

His remarkable addresses to his parting troops—"I will not rest until the German flag flies above the walls of Peking"—A cablegram from the German merchants of Shanghai—"Spare nobody, make no prisoners"—"This may be the beginning of a war between Occident and Orient"—The Kaiser's contradictory estimates of Chinese character—Censuring Admiral Seymour's strategy—His pompous farewell to Field-marshal Waldersee—Reply to Prince Chun.

THE Kaiser's oratorical gifts were brought into full play during the time of the Boxer rebellion and the subsequent troubles in China. But even his best friends in Germany admit that he did so "not wisely, but too well." In fact, his arrogant and self-glorifying utterances during that whole period, revealing too plainly one of the unloveliest phases of his strangely complex character, and his unmeasured threats and uncontrolled fits of anger, caused a general irritation throughout the civilized world, shared even by millions of his own subjects, which could not fail to react against the country he represented, creating a prejudice even against Germany's legitimate claims for reparation, and thus seriously injuring the very cause the Kaiser professed to have—and doubtless had—so much at heart.

One of the utterances made by him at this time, fiercely instructing his departing soldiers to "spare no enemy and to take no prisoners," particularly occasioned the widest indignation in all civilized countries.

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There is only one excuse—not justification—for the Kaiser: his impulsive temperament, hurrying him on to remarks which in calmer mood he would have avoided.

It was towards the end of May, 1900, that news reached the West of the precarious situation of the foreign residents in China, and especially in Peking. But nobody in Germany, or elsewhere, had as yet an adequate conception of the real magnitude and imminency of the danger. Then arrived suddenly very alarming news—of the assassination of the German minister in Peking, Baron von Ketteler, and of the massacre of all the Europeans and Americans there, and a cry of horror went up all over the world. The Kaiser was completely under the domination of this news, which, as subsequently ascertained, had been grossly exaggerated. It may be well to say that up to that time the Kaiser's informants as to China and its affairs had been in the main these three—viz., Ketteler, his minister in Peking; Von Brand, his former minister there; and Bishop Anzer, chief of the German Catholic missions in China. Not one of these three had anticipated any such general or dangerous outbreak as the one which the allied powers had soon after to cope with. Ketteler, especially, had totally underrated the Boxer movement and the intensity of Chinese feeling against foreigners in general, and more especially against the Germans, largely because of the unceremonious seizure of Kiao-chou, an unbloody feat of arms which nobody had lauded as much as precisely the Kaiser. The latter's lack of correct and detailed information regarding Chinese matters, and, more especially, Chinese character, betrayed itself painfully throughout the whole duration of the troubles there, and some of his self-contradictory assertions and astounding boasts were directly traceable to this ignorance on his part.

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On July 2, 1900, the Kaiser, after inspecting in Wilhelmshaven a battalion of marines about to depart for China, made them a farewell address, saying:

"The torch of war has been flung into the midst of deepest peace, though not unexpected by me. A crime unparalleled in its insolence, hateful in its cruelty, has been perpetrated upon my tried and trusted representative, and has hurried him to his grave. The ministers of other powers tremble in hourly danger of their lives, and with them the comrades sent out for their protection; perhaps by now they have fought their last.

"The German flag has been outraged, and the German Empire has been insulted. That demands exemplary reparation and vengeance.

"The situation has been changed with awful rapidity, and is now most critical and serious. Since I called you to arms it has become worse. I was at first in hopes to be able to repair things with the aid of my marine infantry. That is now impossible. The task has assumed greater proportions, and to grapple successfully with it organized bodies of troops of all the civilized countries must be used. To-day the commander of my squadron of cruisers has asked me to send a whole division.

"You will face an enemy who defies death no less than you do. Trained by European officers, the Chinese have learned how to fight with European weapons. God be praised for the fact that your comrades of the marine infantry and my navy have maintained the old German reputation for valor wherever they have met the enemy. They have defended themselves with glory, achieving victory.

"Thus I send you out there to avenge wrong and enforce reparation. I will not rest until the German

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flag¹ flies victorious from the walls of Peking, flies above the Chinese, and dictates the terms of peace to the Chinese."

The Kaiser ordered the formation of an expeditionary corps, to be composed of volunteers from every part of the regular army, and to have the strength of a German brigade on a war footing—*i. e.*, about ten thousand men. Subsequently this contingent was doubled in size.

The German merchants of Shanghai sent a cablegram to the Kaiser, asking him to despatch a military and naval force for the suppression of the rebellion in the north and in the Yangtse region, and for the protection of German commercial interests, which would be "commensurate with Germany's position as the second largest commercial power in the far East."

The answer sent by William II. was:

"Your wishes will be fulfilled as far as possible. *Moltke* and *Bismarck* now on the way, also marine infantry. Division iron-clads, division infantry follow."

To the troops which left Bremerhaven on July 27, 1900, about to depart for China, the Kaiser said:

"During thirty years of peace our army has been drilled and perfected in accordance with the precepts of my grandfather. You, too, have received your education as soldiers in conformity with these principles, and you are now about to be tested before the enemy—whether you have profited by it. Your comrades of

¹In the "edited" phrasing of this speech, as it subsequently appeared in the *Reichsanzeiger*, that passage ran, "Until the German flag, *united with those of the other powers*," etc., the seven words in italics having been interpolated.—Ed.

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the navy have already furnished proof that the principles governing their military training are sound ones, and I am proud of the praise which has been accorded them by foreign officers and commanders out there. It is for you to show that you can do as well. Yours is a great task. You are to exact reparation for the unprecedented wrong, the gross affront, done us. The Chinese have disregarded the law of nations. They have shown scorn for the sacredness of an envoy, for the duties of hospitality, in a manner unparalleled in the world's history. And this is the more reprehensible because these crimes have been committed by a nation which boasts of its ancient culture. . . .

"You are to fight against a cunning, courageous, well-armed, and cruel foe. When you are upon him, know this: Spare nobody, make no prisoners. Use your weapons in a manner to make every Chinaman for a thousand years to come forego the wish to as much as look askance at a German. . . ."

On August 2, 1900, two more transport ships, the *Adria* and the *Rhine*, left Bremerhaven with large bodies of soldiers on board, destined for the seat of war in China. The Kaiser on this occasion, after inspecting the vessels thoroughly, called the corps of officers around him on deck, and spoke to them in the following strain:

"You are going on a grave and portentous mission, the end of which is not yet clear. It may be the beginning of a great war between Occident and Orient. The whole Occident is united. For the common end even such nations have joined who have all along confronted one another as inveterate foes. Every nation has there given proof of matchless bravery, and it is for you, gentlemen, to bring additional glory to the Ger-

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man name, which fortunate wars have placed high in the roster of warlike nations. Show them that we have all this time worked hard, and that our toil in times of peace has not been in vain. Prove yourselves good comrades to all the troops assembled there, no matter what the color of their skin. . . .

"By nature the Chinaman is a cowardly cur, but he is tricky and double-faced. Small, detached troops must be particularly cautious. The Chinaman likes to fall upon an enemy from an ambush, or during the night-time, or with vast superiority in numbers. Recently the enemy has fought bravely, a fact which has not yet been sufficiently explained. Perhaps these were his best troops, those drilled by German and other officers.

"Above all, gentlemen, prove to the Chinese that there is at least one power which, irrespective of remoter considerations of a practical nature, means to punish them for wrongs inflicted. Make war until the aim I have designated be attained, until complete atonement has been enforced. . . ."

Another speech was made by the Kaiser on August 14, 1900, likewise to the assembled officers of a large body of troops departing on board of several steamers leaving Bremerhaven for the seat of war. In it he said:

"You are facing a serious situation. Contrary to my intentions, affairs in China are becoming graver every day. With my drawing, 'Nations of Europe, Safeguard Your Most Cherished Possessions,' I meant to give, four years ago, a hint to the other sovereigns. But my warnings were not heeded. The situation to-day is wholly due to the total undervaluation of the enemy. If the ministers had suspected the fermentation in the minds of the Chinese, and had better appre-

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ciated its import, they would have sought safety and succor with the troops of their governments.

"Give no quarter! Do not rest until the enemy, crushed to the earth, asks pardon on his bended knees.

"And to enable you, gentlemen, to answer questions which may be put to you by officers of other powers, I will tell you herewith my political aims: Suppression of the rebellion, exemplary punishment for the ringleaders, re-establishment of the *status quo ante*, and the firm seating of a strong government, one which can give us the requisite written guarantees that similar events will not recur. . . .

"I should oppose, however, the dismemberment of the huge Chinese Empire. I should oppose this most determinedly. It is not to be thought of, for that would lead to a whole net-work of new and serious complications. The Chinaman is accustomed to a central government. And that is why our interests and our commerce will flourish best under the prevailing system. . . .

"Above all, I warn you against the scattering of your forces. Admiral Seymour would have avoided that total failure if he had not marched with his two thousand men against a city of millions, and if he had been better informed in other respects. This is all the more to be regretted because Seymour participated, when still a midshipman, in the taking of the Taku forts, and since he ought to have utilized the experience then gained, forty years before, in judging the situation of to-day. . . .

"In your intercourse with the officers of other nations all political feeling must, of course, be disregarded. Whether Englishman or Russian, Frenchman or Japanese, we are all fighting the same enemy for the maintenance of civilization; in our case, too, the maintenance of religion.

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“Do honor to the German name, to the flag, and—do not forget it—to me.”

The Kaiser received Count Waldersee, the newly appointed commander-in-chief of the allied forces in China, and his suite, on August 18, 1900. The meeting took place in Cassel, in Château Wilhelmshöhe, and the Kaiser had taken pains to make the farewell audience as effective and theatrical as possible. He presented Waldersee with a diamond-incrusted field-marshal's baton, after appointing him to that military rank a couple of days previous. His farewell speech, too, was somewhat bombastic. He said, in part, to him:

“I greet you at the moment of your leaving the fatherland, and congratulate you on having been chosen, my dear Waldersee, as the leader of the united troops of the civilized world. It is of great significance that your appointment to this exalted office has been due, in the first place, to a suggestion and expressed desire of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias,¹ the mighty potentate whose power is felt for vast distances, far into the interior of Asia. This is another proof of the closely connected army traditions of the two empires, and I recognize the fact with joy that on the strength of this suggestion on the part of his Majesty the entire civilized world has, without exception, intrusted, of its own free will, the chief command over their troops to your Excellency.

“As Prussian officers we can feel grateful and proud because of the great task now confided to your hands. For it includes a general recognition of the excellence

¹ Curiously enough, this bald assertion by the Kaiser, subsequently reiterated on various occasions, was disputed not alone by the entire Russian press, even the official sheets, but, by *inuendo*, by Nicholas II. himself.—ED.

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of our whole military life and work, as well as of our military system and of the training and the capacity of our generals and officers.

"In the interest of the allied nations I may express the hope that our joint expedition may result in safeguarding mutual appreciation and mutual peaceableness for the powers of Europe, as his Majesty the Emperor of Russia endeavored to promote the same aims last year upon another field of activity. What, however, we were unable to attain in peace, we may, perhaps, now attain by the use of arms."

The departure of Waldersee was on a par with this specimen of grandiloquence. The whole journey of himself and his staff from Berlin to Genoa resembled the triumphal march of a conquering hero. One of his aides, a nephew of the marshal, issued hourly bulletins of his uncle's progress from the car window to the press. Even a large portion of the German press rebelled against this vaingloriousness.

The final tableau of the whole business unfolded itself, a year later, in Potsdam. On September 4, 1901, Prince Chun, brother to the nominal Emperor of China, was received in special audience by the Kaiser in the New Palace. This Chinese prince was there to carry out a special mission of atonement for the murder of Baron von Ketteler, the German minister at Peking. In the pursuance of this task he addressed the head of the affronted nation in the following fashion:

"By order of the great Emperor, my most gracious lord and master, I have the honor to present his most honored letter to your Majesty.

"At the expiration of the rebellious movements in China last year, the imperial court, no less of its own accord than at the urgent request of the powers, felt the obligation to express, by sending a special mission to Germany, to your Majesty sincere regrets at the various happenings, more especially

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at the one whose victim was your Majesty's excellent minister, Baron von Ketteler.

"To show beyond question the sincerity of this regret, his Majesty the Emperor selected me, as his next of kin, for this mission.

"I am in condition to assure your Majesty that the Emperor, my most gracious lord, was, in the fullest sense of the word, in nowise implicated in these troubles, which brought great disaster to China and losses and sorrows to Germany.

"Notwithstanding this, and abiding by a custom which has been adhered to for thousands of years, the Emperor of China has taken the guilt upon his own sacred person.

"I am commissioned, therefore, to express, in handing this letter to your Majesty, the most sympathetic sentiments of the Emperor, my august master, for the person of your Majesty. I am to be the interpreter as well of these sentiments towards her Majesty the Empress, and towards the whole imperial family on the part of the great Emperor of China, and to express the wish that the house of your Majesty may flourish, and that health, happiness, and blessings may be bountiful within it.

"His Majesty the Emperor of China hopes that the events of last year may have been but a temporary disturbance of former relations, and that now, since clouds have been superseded by the sunlight of peace, the nations of Germany and China will learn mutually to know and appreciate each other. That is also my own sincere desire."

The Kaiser, remaining seated on his throne, replied to this speech in slow, measured accents, and in a grave and almost forbidding manner, as follows:

"It is not a gay, festive occasion, nor the fulfilment of a simple duty of politeness, which has led your Imperial Highness to my throne, but a very sad and serious event. My minister at the court of his Majesty the Emperor of China, Baron von Ketteler, fell a victim to the murderous weapon of an imperial Chinese soldier, who executed an order of his superiors. This is an unheard-of crime, branded alike by the law of nations and by the customs of all nations.

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“From the mouth of your Imperial Highness I have just now heard the expression of the sincere and deep regret of his Majesty the Emperor of China. I willingly believe that the imperial brother of your Imperial Highness was no partner to this crime and to the subsequent outrages to which inviolate ministers and peaceable foreigners were subjected. All the greater the burden of guilt which lies on his counsellors and his government.

“They must not delude themselves into the belief that atonement and forgiveness for their crimes will be theirs solely on the strength of this mission of expiation and penitence; their whole subsequent conduct, if in accordance with the laws of nations and with the customs of civilized peoples, can alone accomplish that.

“Only if his Majesty the Emperor of China henceforth conducts the government of his great empire in strict conformity with the spirit of these mandates will his hope be fulfilled that the sad consequences of the disturbances of the last year will be overcome, and that permanently friendly and peaceable relations, as they obtained formerly, will be re-established between Germany and China, relations which will bear blessings for both nations and for the entire human civilization.

“In the earnest and sincere hope that these things will come to pass, I bid your Imperial Highness welcome.”

THE KAISER IN MORE INTIMATE
CIRCLES

XVII

THE KAISER'S IDEAL

Among his ancestors it is the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg whom he specially admires and by whom he takes pattern—Drawing a parallel between that ruler and himself—Dedicating a monument at Kiel to him.

WE have the Kaiser's own word for it that it is not so much Frederick William I. of Prussia, Frederick the Great, or even his idolized grandfather, the old Emperor, whom he takes as a model and ideal for his life, as it is that earlier, and, to the general world, less-known figure in German history, Frederick William, the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg. He has declared this to be the case in a number of public speeches and private conversations, and on looking closer at the historical facts there seems, indeed, to be a rational explanation for his predilection.

Despite Carlyle's hero-worshipping book on Frederick the Great, and despite the fact that the great Frederick's glory fills, to the superficial eye, the most glowing pages of Prussia's comparatively short history, there are many reasons which forbid the youngest scion of the Hohenzollern race to worship at this shrine without mental reserve; above all, that monarch's cynicism and atheism, and, next to that, his cosmopolitan spirit, which made Voltaire and a number of other brilliant Frenchmen his intimate friends, and the Encyclopædist school of literature and enlightenment his intellectual boon companions. The present Kaiser,

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indeed, heartily admires the dauntless, unconquerable soldier and the man of subtle, resourceful mind in "Old Fritz"—as that great monarch is still popularly called throughout Germany; but he even more cordially dislikes the other characteristics of the man. A couple of years ago the Kaiser took along for leisurely perusal on his midsummer trip to the Scandinavian seas those volumes containing, in the original French,¹ Frederick the Great's correspondence. But after scanning the contents for a space he cast the books aside, remarking, wrathfully, "What an old heathen he was!" That accurately enough describes his descendant's attitude towards his great sire.

His father, viewed by him for many years at close range, was too liberal in political thought for the present Kaiser's taste. That was one insuperable objection he had against him. His grandfather, though both his personal traits and his achievements, as well as his political principles and aims, appeal very strongly to William II., and though the tender regard and high respect he cherishes for that noble and simple character crop out continually, is nevertheless not his ideal. William I. was too modest and unassuming for his grandson's taste, and in his heart of hearts he cannot forgive the old gentleman of having played—as William I. undoubtedly did—second fiddle to Bismarck, his chancellor and "majordomus." Frederick William I., again, the first of the Prussian soldier-kings, was autocratic and energetic and shrewd enough to suit even William II., but he was too narrow-minded and headstrong, too rigid and unbending—above all, too small a man intellectually to be considered by his

¹It is well known that Frederick the Great received almost his entire education in French, and that he never during his life mastered the intricacies of German grammar or orthography. His autograph rescripts show this plainly.—ED.

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present descendant of quite large enough caliber to take pattern by. There is something of all these able Prussian rulers in the Kaiser of to-day, but there is not enough in any one of them for him to make an ideal of.

With the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg it is different. He was, as a matter of fact, in many and important respects the very prototype of William II. He was the first really great ruler of the Hohenzollern dynasty. He created the future Prussia during his long reign of forty-eight years (1640-88), and, above all, he created both an army and a navy, and welded the scattered fragments of his small states into a rather homogeneous entity. In intellect, and in his quaint mixture of good morals and rugged egotism, he was the forerunner of William II. himself.

At the sessions of the Provincial Chambers of Brandenburg, and at the annual banquets given by that body, the Kaiser has most frequently given rein to his deep admiration for the "Great Elector." He did so while still plain Prince William, and often since ascending the throne. In one of his speeches on such an occasion he explicitly stated:

"We all of us work, so to speak, in the shadow of the Great Elector, a man who, with every fibre and with his whole heart, loved his homeland, and who exerted himself with unceasing, energetic toil for its benefit, until he had developed and amalgamated his Brandenburg¹ into a firm, coherent whole, allaying the countless wounds which an inhuman thirty years' war had inflicted. He is that ancestor of mine for whom

¹ It was not until the "Great Elector's" successor, Frederick I., had reigned a number of years, in 1701, that the electors of Brandenburg acquired the title and dignity of kings of Prussia, the name coming to them from the province of East Prussia.—ED.

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I have the greatest admiration, and who has, since my boyhood's days, illuminated the path before me as my model and ideal."

On December 1, 1890, two hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the Great Elector commenced his reign. In commemoration of the fact, the Kaiser arranged for and then attended a very impressive military memorial celebration on that day. It took place before the fine monument of that monarch, situated on the castle bridge, in the immediate vicinity of the Kaiser's palace in Berlin. He then addressed the vast body of troops present on that occasion as follows:

"Comrades! We commemorate to-day the ascension to the throne, two hundred and fifty years ago, of my sire, the Great Elector. He it was who laid the foundation-stone to the consolidation of the Electorate of Brandenburg, whence grew first the kingdom of Prussia, and lastly the German Empire. He organized a new army, one in which the fear of God, fidelity, unquestioning obedience, and strict discipline reigned supreme. We Brandenburgers know what he has accomplished at the battle of Fehrbellin,¹ where he risked his own life. But his achievements on the field of peaceful pursuits are likewise recorded by history."

On July 11, 1899, in a letter to his former teacher, Professor Hinzpeter, in Bielefeld, the Kaiser apprises him of the fact that he will present to that city, to be placed in its public park, a reproduction in bronze of the fine marble monument of the Great Elector recently erected at his expense in the Siegesallee in Berlin. The letter concludes:

¹ Where an invading Swedish army was defeated.—Ed.

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“ . . . This is to be a token of grateful remembrance for the splendid reception your city recently accorded me, and also a memento to myself, urging me on, with a will as iron as my great ancestor's, in the path which I have recognized as the right one, uninfluenced by opposition of every kind.”

During the following year, on August 6th, this monument was unveiled in Bielefeld by the Kaiser, who made a speech of considerable length, saying, in part:

“ . . . All the Great Elector's acts present a harmonious whole, sprung from his hope of founding a great, powerful Northern state, one which in time to come was to reunite once more the entire German fatherland.

“ But world powers do not grow as quickly as that. However, the foundation-stone he did lay, and the mighty hammer-strokes he gave created for me a firm basis. . . . How different, though, things are to-day! From the small but well-knit state he founded the kingdom of Prussia grew, and Prussia again it was which welded the German Empire together. The great Kaiser, great scion of great sire, was permitted to carry out what the other had dreamed of. In thus casting a brief glance backward upon the history of our country, the query naturally arises, What were the causes which made it possible for our House of Hohenzollern to achieve such grand results? Only this, that each and every Hohenzollern ruler knew from the first that he was but the representative here below of a Higher One, that he was to give an account one day of his acts and his achievements to a more potent King and Master, that he must be a faithful steward and comply with the behests of a most high Employer. Thence, too, the rocklike conviction of his mission, which in-

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spired every single one of my forefathers. Thence the unbending will power which enabled them to carry through what they had once set themselves to do.

"May it be vouchsafed me to tread in the same paths which this great ancestor has marked out for me, and this not alone for the welfare of the whole empire, but also for that of this beautiful little land here. Perhaps it may be given to me to realize that portion of his dream which in the later struggles for our existence and development had to be postponed—the way to the sea! That which the Great Elector was able to outline and foreshadow merely, we now may resume on a large scale, because we now have a united, a great German fatherland."

The Kaiser then touched on recent events—viz., the troubles in China, and that German troops were at that moment spilling their blood to obtain reparation and to restore order there. Then he continued:

". . . They will demonstrate that the arm of the German Emperor reaches to the furthestmost ends of the world. All this would have been impossible had it not been for the Great Elector and his work, and therefore I hope that every one of my subjects will be inspired by the same spirit as he, and that he will toil on towards the attainment of his goal, and to help me in attaining mine. To each one of us an aim and a task have been set, and if every one understands this as well as the Great Elector and all others of my house did, knowing his responsibility and that he must give an account above of what he has accomplished, I am very certain that great times are still ahead for our German fatherland! . . ."

On June 20, 1901, a monument to the Great Elector

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was also unveiled in Kiel, the particular site of it being the park in front of the naval academy. The occasion was one for considerable display and pageant, the imperial couple as well as Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, also Prince Adalbert, one of the Kaiser's sons, and a brilliant suite being present. The war vessels in the harbor boomed a salute during the ceremony. The Kaiser made a speech in which he drew a parallel between himself and the Great Elector. Referring to the peculiar circumstances under which his prototype had assumed the reins of government, and which greatly resembled those pertaining to his own succession, he remarked:

"Truly, it was not an enviable inheritance, one which would have taxed to the full the capacities of a matured, experienced man, knowing every detail of government machinery, and even for such a man the task would have been almost too hard a one. But fearlessly this young man approached his task, and with wonderful skill he solved it. With almost super-human energy, aiming straight at his goal and allowing nothing to interfere with it, he succeeded in bringing his domains once more on a level of prosperity, in organizing their powers of defence, and in winning such a position for himself that his contemporaries, even his foes, gave him, while yet alive, the cognomen of 'The Great.' This, as we know, is rarely done, for a nation's gratitude and admiration seldom find their full expression until after the death of no matter how wise and successful a ruler. This youth, remember, when arrived at maturity, was the first German prince who pointed his people to the sea, who founded the navy of Brandenburg. It is, therefore, a debt of honor our German navy of to-day pays to the Great Elector in erecting this monument. . . .

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"The navy of Brandenburg grew and prospered under his powerful protection, under the guidance of those approved Netherlanders, Admiral Raule and his brother. But after his death his creation pined and perished. . . .

"Thus the Great Elector lived, and in like manner you must strive after him. *Domine, fac me scire viam, quam ambulem*¹—that was his motto, his leading principle, to which he clung through all vicissitudes, all trials and reverses which beset him through life, and which kept up his courage and his hope. It was the red thread which ran through the strands of his strenuous career. Let it also be the motto of the men and officers of my navy! . . ."

¹ "Lord, let me know the way, that I may tread it!"—ED.

XVIII

THE KAISER AND HIS FAMILY

The Kaiser's investiture as a knight of the order of St. John—
The graceful compliment he paid his spouse in her native province—"May you ever rely upon me and my protection"—His faith in the divine-right dogma—Eulogizing his father, the Crown-prince—Extolling "kingship by God's grace"—Thanking the Reichstag for a monument to his father—Welcoming back his brother Henry—The Kaiser's idea of a "world-historical moment of the first magnitude"—His Latin telegram to Professor Mommsen—Exhibiting the imperial insignia to strengthen the loyalty of his subjects—His bombastic address to the Bonn students.

THERE is no denying the fact that William II. has a very strong regard for and devotion to family ties and family sentiment. So strong, indeed, is this in him that it explains much which on the surface seems almost inexplicable. There may be a dash of cunning method in his incessant and often extravagant encomiums of his grandfather, father, and almost every member, dead or living, of the House of Hohenzollern, for he is shrewd enough to perceive that perpetual iteration as to the exalted virtues and the matchless merits of these excellent personages will in the end convince all Germany of the truth of his claims and make the nation as a whole accept his own estimate as the correct one. Such, in fact, is probably the case, and it is a most striking proof of the enormous force of repetition and suggestion. But, for all that, the substratum in the Kaiser's mind is doubtless genuine

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enough. He actually believes his sires and ancestors to be such paragons of ability and manly virtue as he proclaims them to a wondering world—even where impartial history accords them no such high place on the scroll of fame. Indeed, hateful editors and contributors to the German opposition press have frequently enough convicted the Kaiser of outraging historical truth in his fulsome praise of this or the other of his predecessors on the throne. But such critical notices were swept on and drowned in the mighty torrent of imperial eloquence, and on the vast majority of the German people of to-day the ceaseless laudations of nearly every Prussian ruler which the present Kaiser has been indulging in for fifteen consecutive years has had the inevitable effect. They now, more or less, believe in the moral and intellectual grandeur of each individual Hohenzollern—just as the Kaiser does.

In his case, however, this boundless faith in his own kith and kin, and in his forebears, is easily explained. The versions of history taught him by his books and teachers had been cautiously adapted *in usum delphini*, glossing over or keeping silent about every unpalatable fact, and it is questionable, indeed, whether he learned, for instance, at any time of the established fact that his favorite pattern, the aforementioned Great Elector, was at one time plotting treason against the Emperor, and at another was the actual ally of France in the latter's designs upon the fatherland and its imperial head. Besides, the Kaiser's natural bent is in the direction of self-glorification, vicarious or otherwise. Certain it is in any case that the feeling which impels him in showering forever rhetorical benison upon the graves of his race is sincere, though often ill-advised.

On August 23, 1888, two months after his accession, the young Kaiser was received with imposing ceremonies into the order of St. John. The scene was the

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Sonnenburg, and the lord master directing the whole procedure of solemn investiture was the young monarch's uncle, Prince Albrecht of Prussia, who is also the Regent of Brunswick. At the banquet following the ceremonies proper, the Kaiser rendered lavish thanks to his kinsman, the lord master, and said, among other things:

“ . . . The great tasks devolving upon me, especially the development and improvement of internal conditions for the people, are not to be solved through the efforts of organized government alone. To lift my people up, morally and religiously, I need the assistance of the nation's noblest part—my nobility, and in the order of St. John I see united large numbers from among the nobility. I hope and trust that I shall succeed, in conjunction with the aid from the order of St. John, in promoting and increasing the sentiment of religion as well as Christian discipline within the people, and thus to attain those high ideals which I have put before my eyes. . . .”

The Kaiser attended, on September 7, 1890, a banquet given by the provincial chambers of Schleswig-Holstein in the town of Glücksburg, and on that occasion he made mention of his consort, the Empress Augusta Victoria, after the following fashion:

“ . . . The bond uniting me with this province, uniting me with it in a particular manner, is the jewel shining by my side—her Majesty the Empress. Sprung from this land, the type of all the virtues of a Germanic princess, it is owing to her that I am able to fulfil the heavy obligations of my office with a joyous and tranquil mind.

“ You pointed out that you feel secure under my

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sceptre, and that you look into the future with confidence. That is also what I do when I can rely upon such men as the men of Schleswig-Holstein. . . .”

When the Kaiser's sister, Victoria, married, on November 19, 1890, Prince Adolf of Schaumburg-Lippe, he toasted the young couple at the wedding-feast, saying:

“ . . . May you ever rely upon me and my protection, and may you become worthy members of my family!”

At a banquet in Coblentz, given by the provincial delegates of the Rhine district, on September 1, 1893, the Kaiser made a speech in which he dwelt at some length on the long residence in that town of both his grandfather¹ and grandmother, saying:

“ . . . With a deeply moved heart I speak to you in this spot, so intimately connected with the life of my departed grandfather and with the personality of my late grandmother. Memories of a solemn and touching, of a beautiful and graceful, nature, are revived. But the total picture which our eyes, looking backward, perceive, is one showing a life filled with blessings, an activity richly fruitful and so crowned with success as happens but rarely here below. We feel the tender ministrations of that august lady who once dwelt in these rooms, and we still trace the benefits conferred by the slender hand of Empress Augusta upon every portion of this province. The same affection and the same devotion which this province felt for my grandparents, and they again for this province,

¹ In 1848, after the successful revolutionary rising in Berlin and all over Prussia, the present Kaiser's grandfather, William I., then intensely unpopular, fled to England in disguise. After his return he spent a number of years very unobtrusively in Coblentz, in a high military position.—ED.

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live in us now present. It was permitted me, as it was to my father before me, to spend two glorious years of my youth at the *alma mater* in your midst—years never to be forgotten. . . .”

At the unveiling of a monument to William I., in Bremen, on October 18, 1893, the Kaiser made another speech, lauding his grandfather, but also devoting some attention to his father, in the following words:

“ . . . A more appropriate day than this could hardly have been chosen for this ceremony—the 18th of October, the anniversary of the great ‘Nations’ Battle’ at Leipzig, on which the monarchs united into a ‘Holy Alliance’ freed Prussia, Germany, nay, the whole of Europe, from the iron yoke of oppression—the 18th of October, too, the birthday of the late Emperor Frederick III.—what a *prognosticon* for the future! In his breast he bore, even in the days of his youth, the knowledge of coming events and the burning desire for the unity of the beloved fatherland. And when at last the dawn of the new German Empire appeared on the horizon, he, in maturer years, was enabled to realize the dreams of his youth. The German sword in his grasp, the son won, on the ensanguined field of battle, the imperial crown for his father. It was owing to his powerful hammerblows that the empire’s armor has been forged so strongly. . . .”

Then, devoting the remainder of his address to his grandfather, the Kaiser said, towards the close:

“ thank you as his grandson for the honor paid to him. . . . My entire task will be to strive after

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the great Kaiser, whose bronze image salutes us from yonder. . . .”

At the quarter-centenary of the battle of Wörth, which was celebrated October 18, 1895, on the site itself, a monument to Emperor Frederick was unveiled. The Kaiser on this occasion was accompanied by the Empress Frederick and a brilliant staff, and said, after the formal dedicatory address:

“With a heart full of tender, mournful memories, my august mother is to-day with us. Her thoughts fly back to the glorious hour when she, on the arm of her royal consort, heard on this very spot and from his own lips the news of the first great victory achieved by him. I render special thanks to your Majesty for the condescension shown in personally attending here, on an occasion when this grand image of my dear father has been erected. . . .

“We of the younger generation here assembled make a solemn vow, facing the lineaments of the mighty victor, our late Kaiser, to maintain what he won for us, to safeguard the crown which he fashioned, to defend these Reichslande against whomsoever, and to see to it that they remain German—so help us God and our good German sword!

“And let us all shout now: My august mother, by whose appearance here to-day we all feel honored, her Majesty the Empress Frederick! Hurrah!”

The following year, on June 18th, another monument to the old Kaiser, erected on the summit of the Kyffhäuser mountain, in Thuringia, by the joint efforts of the German veterans' associations, was unveiled. The Kaiser spoke at some length in reply to an address by General von Spitz, the president of the national

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council of these organizations, saying, among other things:

“ . . . I know that your memories of the great Kaiser are sacred to you all, and will be sacred till you draw your last breath, all of you who followed his victory-crowned banners, and who risked life and blood with him for the union of the beloved fatherland. This monument is an imperishable token of such sentiments. . . .

“ With particular satisfaction have I listened to the renewal of the pledge of allegiance from my old warriors, with whom, I know, their motto, ‘ With God for Kaiser and Empire,’ is no hollow verbiage. . . .”

At the spot where the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle rivers takes place, the so-called Deutsche Eck, near Coblenz, a gigantic monument in honor of William I. was erected. The dedication was on August 31, 1897, in the presence of the imperial couple and an enormous concourse of people. A banquet given by the Rhine province followed, during which the Kaiser made one of his most flamboyant speeches, practically deifying his late grandfather. The most characteristic passage ran thus:

“ . . . My grandfather, the great and glorious ruler, issued from his residence in Coblenz, and ascended the throne as the chosen instrument of the Lord; indeed, he justly regarded himself as such. For all of us, but more particularly for us princes, he has again lifted up on high an adamant jewel, lifted it up from the dust until it shone and glittered with brilliant effulgence: kingship by divine grace; kingship with its heavy duties, its never-ceasing, ever-active toils and labors, its awful responsibility to the Creator alone, from

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which no mere man, no chancellor or minister, no popular parliament, no people can absolve the ruler and prince. Conscious of this responsibility, knowing himself to be the Lord's arm, this great Emperor walked his way in deepest humility. He recovered for us unity and the German Empire, and here in this beautiful province his high thoughts were born and ripened. To this province clung his heart. This city he loved. This city his consecrated foot trod. With this province he lived and suffered. . . ."

In passing, it may be well to remark that these hundreds of new monuments, this constant round of fêtes and ceremonies in honor of the memory of William I., whom his grandson alone of all sovereigns—even of all German sovereigns—and he alone of all historians and writers conversant with the truth, persistently styles "the Great"; this systematic glorification of a man who, as Bismarck himself said to the editor—Bismarck, who knew the old Emperor better, far better, than his grandson ever did—"was a fine type of the royal gentleman, but a hero, a great man—no!"—this wholesale adulation and uncritical deification of a successful ruler and conqueror, were by no means to the taste of millions of Germans themselves. Indeed, it may be truthfully asserted that this whole business was intensely distasteful to the vast majority of the German people, and innumerable evidences of this appeared while this "craze" for unadulterated exaggeration, a craze lasting for a number of years, was at its very height with the Kaiser. Held closely in leash by illiberal press laws and partisan practices of subservient courts, the German press yet mustered sufficient courage every little while to deprecate this growing habit of making a national fetic of William I., calling attention to the fact that if William I. himself

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were alive he would be the first, in his genuine and tactful modesty, to cry a halt to this excessive, rabid enthusiasm in his own behalf. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, the Kaiser's tactics have in the end prevailed. The Kaiser's constant and almost uncontradicted falsification of historical truth has led, in Germany at least, to the general acceptance of a portrait of William I. which is remote from the established facts. He stands to-day an immaculate national saint and hero, on a pedestal whence this age will not remove him, a striking instance in contemporaneous history of the enormous power of reiterating untruths, and one of the yet more striking instances of the Kaiser's ability to make his people swallow the medicine he prescribes. As such an illustration the facts are of vast psychological importance.

The great national monument to William I., erected by popular subscription, but executed entirely in accordance with the Kaiser's ideas and demands, even as to the choice of the sculptor and the rate of compensation paid the latter, was put up without as much as a vote of the Reichstag. But when it came to putting up a national monument to his father, Kaiser Frederick III., the financial aid of the national parliament was besought and obtained. On May 7, 1898, the Kaiser gave a fête to the Reichstag, just after adjournment *sine die*, in the White Hall of the Berlin royal castle. During the banquet the monarch made a speech, thanking the delegates for the liberality shown in the matter of this monument,¹ saying:

"I feel that I must thank you before you disperse, not alone as your Kaiser, but also as a son, and must also voice the appreciation of my imperial widowed

¹But this monument to Frederick III. have elapsed, has not yet been erected. — Ed.

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mother, for the fine gift you have made us—the monument to my late father. You have thereby made it easier for me to fulfil my filial duties, and for my mother to experience the satisfaction of employing her artistic qualifications in the execution of this beautiful task. . . .

“ . . . I draw my strength in persevering in the road to reach my goal from the same source whence my grandfather drew his own strength in achieving and doing, and my father his in conquering and suffering. I mean to continue in this path, knowing that it is the right one, the one which I also recommend you to follow, and the one which alone ought to determine our human endeavors: A tower of strength is our God! *In hoc signo vinces.* . . . ”

When Prince Valdemar, son of Prince Henry, entered the German navy, on March 20, 1899, the Kaiser was in Kiel. He said, among other things:

“ . . . It is a privilege of the princes belonging to the House of Hohenzollern that they from their completed tenth year on learn how to serve the fatherland, devoting to such service all their strength and toil. They are, for this purpose, made to enter the 1st Regiment of the Guards, a regiment which has seen many a Hohenzollern prince in its ranks. I hope that henceforth the princes of the House of Hohenzollern will devote to the navy the same zeal in its service, and I hope that my navy will see, in days to come, an efficient, brave, and chivalrous officer growing up in this hopeful young prince here, one who will be distinguished, like his eminent father, for his energy, his principles, and his strong patriotism. . . . ”

A few days after the demise of the mother of the

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Empress, the Duchess Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein, on February 2, 1900, the *Reichsanzeiger* published the Kaiser's public acknowledgment of the thousands of testimonials of sympathy which had reached him and his spouse, saying that this death had plunged his court in mourning and had induced the annulment of all previously announced midwinter festivities. He then proceeds to enumerate such tokens of sympathy, saying:

“ . . . Even in far-away continents, wherever pioneers of German culture and civilization have gained a foothold, the Germans have united to testify to their feeling of close connection with the home and to give expression to their joy at the growing respect for the German name in foreign parts. I greeted with particular satisfaction in these manifestations the full apprehension of the fact that the German Empire, to maintain its eminent position as a world power, and to protect its commercial interests, absolutely requires an adequate navy. I have accepted the many assurances of faithful co-operation in this great national enterprise, coming from such sources, with hearty satisfaction. . . . ”

A few days later Prince Henry returned from a two years' stay in far Asia as commander of a German naval division there, and on the 13th he arrived in Berlin, where the Kaiser addressed him in a welcoming speech during the family banquet served at the royal castle. He said:

“ . . . With all my heart I bid you welcome to our fatherland and to our capital. Two years ago I sent you to carry out a task I had set you in far Asia, and had to leave it to God whether He would protect you and grant fruition to your endeavors. The

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jubilant and enthusiastic reception by every class of the population of my residential city of Berlin has furnished the proof that our whole people have accompanied you with their wishes and sympathies in the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon you and which you have so successfully discharged. But this reception has another and a deeper meaning. It is an unmistakable token for the thoroughness of conviction, which has meanwhile made headway within the nation, how indispensable to our national welfare is the strengthening of our sea-power. The German people, together with its princes and Kaiser, is now convinced that it must mark a new epoch in its mighty development by the creation of a large navy commensurate in its power and size. . . .”

The attainment of his majority by the Crown-prince—which is fixed by the imperial constitution at the completed eighteenth year—fell on May 6, 1900. It was celebrated with a whole series of gorgeous court and military festivities. The Emperor of Austria-Hungary and a number of other sovereigns came to assist in these. Special honors and privileges were conferred on this youth during the day. Frederick William, the Crown-prince, who was then still an unspoiled boy, bore them all meekly and modestly. His father seized upon the favorable occasion to make a number of speeches and to propose some toasts. In the morning, after the Crown-prince had been formally enrolled and inducted into the 1st Grenadiers as its youngest lieutenant, and after this regiment had been renamed “Crown-prince” in his special honor, his father addressed the young man, in the presence of a delegation from that regiment. The Kaiser drew a parallel between his son’s “crown-princeship” and that of his own father. He admonished his son to

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strive earnestly after the laurels and the universal affection which his grandfather had won during the many years he had borne the title of crown-prince, saying:

“ . . . It will require the work of a lifetime and your whole efforts to maintain the position of crown-prince in such manner as it has lived in the hearts and affections of the nation and of the army. First as Crown-prince of Prussia, next as Crown-prince of the German Empire, as that had been welded together in 1870-71, this imposing figure, whose last days were filled with such unparalleled suffering, looms in history, lives in the hearts of the German people, as the Crown-prince *par excellence*. The great position which your grandfather has given to the office of German Crown-prince in the eyes of the world and in those of the nation is an inheritance which you must strive to preserve intact, or, if possible, to increase. Be sure of this, that it will need all the strength of your young manhood to carry out satisfactorily this high and noble task. . . .”

During the banquet in the afternoon the Kaiser made a somewhat lengthy speech, in which he said:

“ . . . The appearance here of your Majesties and the sending of so many cousins on the part of European sovereigns have made of a simple family fête a world-historical moment of the first magnitude. . . .”

He then proceeded to declare his conviction that the presence of so many august guests was due to the common bonds uniting them all, and that their houses all rested on the same foundation on which the Hohenzollern dynasty had been erected—on “tradition,” by

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which, as he further explained, he meant "hard, serious work, in slow but steady upbuilding of their powers and those of their countries, and in the joint endurance of evil days and the joint enjoyment of good days by ruler and subjects alike." The Kaiser then added:

"Borne by the consciousness of the tasks which God Himself has put before them, my ancestors have laid the foundations. This consciousness of a divinely appointed task is shared with us by every other monarch and ruler."

Several weeks later, in presenting his son to the 1st Guards in Potsdam, on May 30th, the Kaiser said:

"I have the fullest confidence in my regiment that it will prove in the case of my son what it has proved in the case of so many Prussian kings, princes, and excellent generals—namely, a matchless educational school for the officer.

"In his own case I hope and trust that he will experience the same enjoyment in mingling, in the ranks of my own dear company, with the men and officers, and that he will acquire the same amount of confidence which I succeeded in earning for myself under the same circumstances, and that he will feel intimately interested in his comrades as members of the same army and of the same country.

"Thus I hand over to you my son, in the expectation that he will one of these days become an efficient Prussian officer and a good soldier."

At the laying of the foundation of the reconstructed Saalburg, an ancient Roman fort, near Homburg, on October 11, 1900, the Kaiser was present. He sent, in

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a jocular vein, a telegram couched in the Latin tongue to the leading German archæologist, Professor Mommsen, as follows:

"Theodoro Mommseno, antiquitatum Romanorum investigatori incomparabili, praetorii Saalburgensis fundamenta jaciens salutem dicit et gratias agit Gulielmus Germanorum Imperator."¹

To which the octogenarian veteran of science, entering into the spirit of the message, promptly replied in kind.

In the presence of the Kaiser, and of the whole imperial family, the dedication of a church in Königsberg, built in memory of Queen Louise of Prussia, took place on September 9, 1901, and later on the same day the Kaiser made a speech in which he paid a high tribute to that unfortunate lady, saying:

". . . In a reverential spirit the memory of that beautiful and most womanly and wifely Queen has been mentioned to-day. Among Europe's queens she shines as a brilliant star, one whom, for those born to the purple, it is a special duty to strive after. . . ."

Then the Kaiser, referring to the fact that he had caused the insignia of German imperial power to be placed, as if for adoration, on an altar of a local church, where they had been gazed at from a respectful distance by thousands of the people of Königsberg, said:

"To emphasize anew the fact that the kingdom of Prussia, and issuing thence the German Empire, has taken its rise in Königsberg and in this province of

¹ "William, Kaiser of the Germans, laying the foundation to the Saalburg, sends greetings and thanks to Theodore Mommsen, the incomparable investigator of Roman antiquities."—ED.

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East Prussia, I brought my imperial insignia with me here, and had them placed yesterday on God's altar, so that your eyes might see them and the divine blessing might once more be implored for them, on the same altar where once stood Emperor William the Great and placed on his head that crown which he deemed solely derived from God. . . ."

The ceremony wound up with the presentation of a curious "double portrait," painted at the Kaiser's personal orders, and showing, side by side, the first King of Prussia, Frederick I., who crowned himself in 1701, and William II., the present ruler, both monarchs appearing in resplendent regal robes on the canvas.

On June 18, 1902, the student Corps Borussia, of the University of Bonn, of which the Kaiser had been an active member during his university days, commemorated the seventy-fifth anniversary of its existence. This was done with the usual accompaniment on such occasions in German universities—*i. e.*, a plenitude of beer and song in the quarters of the "corps." The Kaiser and his eldest son, the Crown-prince, attended as members, while a number of invited ladies, among them the Empress and several court ladies, sat in the gallery above the scene. At a point in the proceedings the Kaiser assumed the presidency of the *Commers*,¹ and toasted his spouse in the following strain:

"When our ancestors rode into the tournament, a wreath of beautiful ladies surrounded them, looking down upon the doughty warriors. Never in the history of German universities has one of them been honored as this one is honored to-day. Right here

¹*Commers* is a peculiar German student festivity, which consists in drinking a lot of beer according to certain rules, and in singing and speech-making.—ED.

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in charming Bonn, surrounded by princely, high-born ladies, her Majesty the Empress has appeared, the first sovereign lady who has attended a *commers* of the students. This unparalleled honor, however, has been shown to the city of Bonn, and within Bonn to the Corps Borussia. I hope and expect that all young Borussians upon whom the eyes of her Majesty dwell to-day will thereby be consecrated for their whole lives. But we down here, whether general or statesman, whether lieutenant or rustic younker, all join in gratitude to bow before her Majesty the Empress. We rub an extra strong salamander upon the health of her Majesty."

In explanation of the above, those readers not familiar with German university customs need, perhaps, be told that to "rub a salamander" is the greatest honor done by the *corona* (all present), and consists in rattling your tumbler or tankard on the table in quick succession and all keeping time, winding up with a sharp tap, then everybody poisoning his vessel in midair and gulping down its contents *a tempo*, and next slamming the empty vessel on the sloppy table with a noise like reverberating thunder. The more exact all this is done, and the greater the volume of noise produced, the greater the honor conferred on the person in whose behalf the curious feat has been performed.

The Corps Borussia, which was thus "honored" by the presence of the Empress, is the one which admitted, a twelvemonth before, the young Crown-prince as a member, the Kaiser personally accompanying and initiating his son. The drinking on that night is said to have been particularly hard. The members of this "corps" are all scions of ultra-loyal Prussian families, mostly of the wealthier land-holding or "younker" class.

XIX

THE KAISER AS MARGRAVE OF BRANDENBURG

Feels special pride in the title—Reasons for his intimate relations with the representatives of this province—Calls it the cradle and primal source of Hohenzollern power—His sensational and frank utterances before the Brandenburg Provincial Chambers—Terms Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon “mere tools of the august will” of William I.—Emphasizing the divine right of monarchs.

MOST characteristic of the Kaiser's real self, because most unguarded and impulsive, are the speeches, toasts, and chance remarks he has made, both before and after his accession, in the presence of the Provincial Chambers of Brandenburg. Before the delegates to this body and the high government and administrative officials attending the annual banquets given by the chambers, the Kaiser feels himself exclusively in his capacity of Margrave of Brandenburg. This being the oldest rank in point of time which his ancestors acquired when they came, five hundred years ago, from their southern home into Brandenburg, then desolate and poverty-stricken, obeying the mandate of an early German emperor, and a rank they held for long generations before being promoted to the higher dignity of elector of the old empire, there is, perhaps, a poetical or sentimental reason why the present Kaiser should cherish it as much as he does.

At any rate, the fact admits of no dispute that William II. has always given fuller vent and more

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unrestrained expression to his real views and sentiments on public and personal questions when facing these friendly and discreet audiences of Brandenburg notables than he has done anywhere else. Many of his most sensational utterances, several of those which outside of this small gathering met with almost universal condemnation, were made before "his Brandenburgers." But many of his remarks here, also, afford intelligent explanation of a certain line of policy followed by him, or of actions done by him, and some of them are nothing less than interesting "*documents humains*," in Zola's sense. His abnormal confidence in his own abilities, his own wisdom, his own prowess, found here likewise startling expression. Here he complains of being misunderstood and misinterpreted, and here he announces what he means to do, either in the near future or in remoter times.

His speeches and off-hand conversations on social occasions before "his Brandenburgers" have not been recorded during the years he was still "plain Prince William," but those made since his accession were all carefully preserved, and the most sensational of them have crept into print.

In March, 1889, at a plenary session of these Provincial Chambers of Brandenburg, he said:

" . . . The first and noblest name in my great royal title is that of Margrave of Brandenburg, and as such I consider myself, of course, exclusively when I am among you, as your direct and immediate chieftain, and deem it my duty to be one of you whenever you assemble.

"The year just past has brought us trying times, such as no other people or family scarcely ever passed through. So far as history teaches us, there has never been a case like ours. We lost two kings. I

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myself saw within a few months both grandfather and father pass away. I think that is a hard enough schooling for a young gentleman that is called to rule over such a country. . . .”

The year following, on March 5, these same Provincial Chambers gave a banquet at the Hôtel Kaiserhof, in Berlin, and the young Kaiser spoke at length, saying:

“ . . . The intimate connection existing between the Hohenzollerns and Brandenburg, often admired by and incomprehensible to foreigners, is based in the main on the fact that, contrary to other states, it was the privilege of the Brandenburgers to be permitted to prove their fidelity to the House of Hohenzollern at periods of gravest calamity and in times of the most terrible public disaster. . . .

“ . . . During my travels, of which your presiding officer spoke just now, I pursued not alone the aim to become acquainted with foreign countries and foreign political institutions, to nurture friendly relations with the rulers of neighboring countries—no, I had other things in mind. These journeys of mine, misinterpreted in many ways, possessed a high value for me, for they enabled me, removed for a space from the partisan contests of the day, to view our internal affairs, so to speak, from a distant perspective, and thus to examine them with greater leisure and without bias. Whoever has stood alone on the broad ocean, quietly ruminating upon the commander's bridge, nothing but God's starry sky above him, and has allowed his thoughts to roam at will, or concentrated them upon some particular problem, will not deny the great value of such journeys. I would give much if many of my countrymen might be also allowed to indulge in such calm reflection, away from momentary disturbances, hours

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when man can give an account to himself what he has striven for and what he has actually accomplished. At such times one is cured of a too high opinion of one's own worth — and that is something which all of us need. . . .

“ . . . My late grandfather deemed his position a task set him by God Himself, and in whose accomplishment he had to spend all his strength, to the very last breath. His way of thinking is mine, and I perceive in the country and people come to me by inheritance a treasure intrusted to me by God. To increase and multiply this is, as the Bible tells us, my duty, and I shall have to give an accounting some day how I have made use of it. I mean to use my opportunities well, so that, as I hope and trust, I shall be able to add in time much and many things to the original inheritance.

“ Those who are willing to help me in this work will be heartily welcomed by me, no matter who they be. But those who should oppose me in this work I will crush.

“ If serious times should come, I feel confident of the fidelity of my Brandenburgers, and I hope they will help me faithfully in the discharge of my duties. . . . ”

On February 20, 1891, the Kaiser again faced his Brandenburgers, the occasion being a similar one, and said:

“ . . . I rejoice with all my heart that it was vouchsafed me to spend another evening with you. It feels good to meet in this way men of whom one knows that they think and feel the same way about important questions. . . . ”

The speaker then gave a general survey of his

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doings and experiences during the past year so far as domestic affairs were concerned, and then continued:

“ . . . I stood last year on a spot dear to all of us—I might say sacred; this spot is Memel. I was there in the small house where my great-grandparents lived and had their being in a time of severe trial and anxiety, a time when our country lay crushed, a prey to the conqueror and almost without hope of a brighter future. And yet it was precisely from there, and when nobody knew or even dreamed of resurrection for the country, that the beginnings of our greatness of to-day took their rise. Kingship, holding fast to God, to faith, to duty; the people, still relying on the hand of their royal guide. These two united again, and in this fidelity, this unbroken faith in each other, lies concealed the greatness, the secret of our fatherland's rise. I know very well that in our time systematic attempts are being made to trouble the minds of the people. The spirit of disobedience stalks through the land; clothed in a glitteringly seductive garb, it seeks to win away from me the affection and trust of my people, of the men who remain faithful to me. It employs an ocean of printer's ink trying to befog the judgment of my people, and yet these machinations are vain, for their ulterior purpose must be plain to everybody who knows me and the principles which guide me. . . .

“I do not believe that the men of Brandenburg will hesitate to follow me in the paths which I tread. You know that I look upon my position and upon my whole task as one set me by Heaven, that I am merely executing the mandates of One higher than I, and to whom I must one day render an account. I can assure you that no evening and no morning passes without a prayer for my people, and especially for my

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Brandenburgers. Well, then, Brandenburgers! Your margrave is speaking to you. Follow him through the thick of the fray, whatever betide and wherever he may lead you! You can rest assured that it will always be a path that leads to the welfare and the greatness of our fatherland. . . .”

A year later, on February 24, 1892, the Kaiser spoke again to the same men, and in a similar strain. Public criticism or censure for some of his acts during the preceding year, both at home and abroad, had ruffled his temper, and he was heard to the following effect:

“ . . . With the hard toil devolving upon me, it is doubly a pleasure and boon to me, inspiriting and stimulating, to find here men who intelligently appreciate my efforts in behalf of the welfare of the nation. Unfortunately, it has become a habit to criticise everything proceeding from the government. On the most trivial pretexts the people’s peace of mind is being disturbed, and their joy of living, their appreciation of the rapid growth and increasing prosperity of our entire, our great country, is being poisoned. From this habit of fault-finding, and from this systematic attempt to besmirch everything in our land, the thought is finally engendered in the bosom of our people that our country is the unhappiest and worst-governed in the world, and that it means punishment to live in it. That this is not in accordance with the facts we all of us know, of course. But would it not be better, under the circumstances, if all these dissatisfied fault-finders were to shake the German dust off their slippers and to withdraw themselves hurriedly from these miserable and pitiable conditions? By so doing, at least, their own wish would be gratified, and as for us—why, they would do us a great favor.

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"We are living in a transition period. Germany is gradually finding her baby shoes too small, and is stepping into maturity. It is time that we should rid ourselves of these baby complaints. We are now passing through feverishly excited days and years, when the calmness of impartiality is, I regret to say, too generally lacking. But quieter days will follow. . . ."

The Kaiser then told an apt historical anecdote of Sir Francis Drake, and dwelt on the confidence inspiring him in his duties as a ruler, continuing:

"To that must be added the sentiment of responsibility towards the Most High which lives in me, and my rocklike conviction that our Great Ally of Rossbach and Dennewitz¹ will not fail me. He has taken such an amount of pains with our old Mark Brandenburg and with our House of Hohenzollern that it is not to be assumed He will have His pains for nothing. On the contrary, Brandenburgers, we are destined to great things, and I will lead you upward to joyous, glorious days. Do not let your judgment be clouded by all these fault-finders, nor blind your eyes to the bright future by grumblers, thus killing your joy in the work you share. Phrases alone will not do the work, and to those who ceaselessly throw out animadversions about the 'new course'² I reply, calmly and firmly: 'My course is the right one, and I will continue to steer it!'"

In a speech to the same audience, a year later, the Kaiser said, among other things of less moment:

¹ Meaning God.—ED.

² "The new course" was a term which the "Bismarck press" had tacked to the Kaiser's novel policy, so full of surprises and deviating in so many ways from the steady and conservative policy of the Iron Chancellor.—ED.

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"The sacred figure of our great, dead Emperor William is ever before us, recalling memories of his unprecedented achievements. How did he accomplish them? Simply because my grandfather harbored in his soul the stanchest, most unshakable belief in his mission from God, a belief to which he joined tireless zeal in the performance of duty. Behind him stood the Mark Brandenburg, stood the entire fatherland. In these traditions, gentlemen, I myself grew up, and was educated in them by him. I share his faith. My highest reward is, therefore, to work day and night for the welfare of my people. But I do not disguise from myself the fact that I cannot, shall not, succeed in ever rendering all the parts and classes of my people equally happy and contented. But I hope to be able to achieve this: to create conditions with which all those may be content who wish to be content. . . ."

Again, on February 24, 1894, at the recurring annual dinner of the same Provincial Chambers, the Kaiser spoke at length. This time the vein was a happier one. He graphically outlined the history of Brandenburg, lauding the Great Elector and dwelling with emphasis on the duty of patriotism and on the divine right of kings. Then he continued:

". . . Cultivate, therefore, the love for our country. Teach our youth to rejoice in belonging to a great, united German Empire, wherein, after all, Brandenburg is the chief tower of strength! And if unsuccessful, let them learn from other nations! I will instance in this connection the Dutch people, near relations of ours by ties of blood and religion, and among whom the Great Elector was permitted to spend the years of his boyhood, to enable him later on to utilize in his own lands those things he had learned there. How

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firmly rooted in the popular mind is there the consciousness of those things which their dynasty achieved for Holland! That is shown by a little, simple incident which happened when a poor Dutch farmer's wife, leading her babes by the hand, went up to the house in the walls of which can still be seen the bullet-holes made when William of Orange fell there, the victim of an assassin. And as the good-wife reached this spot, she pointed out these holes to her children, saying: 'That is William!'

"Well, we should do the same! Let us look back upon the year 1866, and upon the year 1870, and say: 'That is William!' These are great things which my august ancestors have done for you, for all of us!"

A twelvemonth later, on February 24, 1895, the Kaiser touched, in his talk to "his Brandenburg-ers," mainly on the agrarian problem in Germany, which was then agitating the mind of the nation. He said:

". . . The questions which momentarily call chiefly for solution regard, above all, the tillers of our soil. . . . I hope with all my heart that I shall succeed in achieving for you something permanently useful, and with all my power and ability will I work to that end. But I must warn you seriously not to indulge extravagant hopes, or to ask us to make an effort towards realizing utopias. No calling or class has a right to demand preferment or advantages at the cost of all the others. It is the task of the monarch to weigh the interests of all classes of the population, one against the remainder, in order to safeguard the common interests of the fatherland. . . ."

His speech a year later, to the same hearers, was

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devoted to a gigantic panegyric upon William I. Its most characteristic passage ran thus:

“What we have lived to see, what has been achieved, we owe, after all, to nobody else but to the great Emperor William and to his faith in God. The whole series of fêtes and celebrations last year, culminating in the glorification of this personality, become absolutely sainted and sacred for us. He embodies for us the unity of our longed-for, our new German fatherland. It is our sacred duty to keep the holy memory of this personality intact and free of all blemish, and to defend it against whosoever it may be. . . .”

On February 26, 1897, the Kaiser delivered an address to the same audience, in which he indulged in historical reminiscences, comparing conditions prevailing under the ancient German emperors with those now obtaining under his own rule, and pointing out that Frederick Barbarossa had been the only one of these old emperors under whom Germany could be said to have flourished. Then he outlined the career of his own grandfather, concluding with the words:

“. . . Gentlemen, if this august lord had lived during the Middle Ages he would have been canonized, and pilgrimages would have been undertaken from every country on the globe, to pray near his bones. But, thank the Lord! that is still possible to-day. The gate to his tomb stands ajar. Every day in the year faithful subjects undertake pilgrimages there, taking their children by the hand. Foreigners, too, go there, to enjoy a look upon this grand old man and to gaze upon the images fashioned after him. . . .

“A task devolving upon all of us, and which we, to keep the memory of this great man immaculate, must

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perform, is the fight against subversive tendencies and parties, to be carried on with every means at our disposal. That party which dares to assault the foundation of the state, which rebels against religion, and which does not even halt before the person of the most august ruler, must be overcome. I shall be glad to hold the hand of every man in my own, be he laborer, prince, or lord, who will engage to aid me in this fight. And this fight we can only bring to a victorious issue if we remember forever the man whom we have to thank for our fatherland, for the German Empire; in whose train there was, by God's decree, many an able, efficient adviser, men who had the honor of carrying out his ideas, but who were, nevertheless, but mere tools of his august will, inspired by the mind of the revered Emperor."

Another speech of some length was made by the Kaiser on February 3, 1899, at the annual banquet given by the Brandenburg Chambers. He had listened with evident pleasure to the chairman's address glorifying the deeds of the Hohenzollerns, and, in reply to this fulsome praise, stated:

"... The one chief reason was that they, alone among all the other monarchs and at a time when such thoughts and sentiments were as yet scarcely 'fashionable,' represented and felt the ruler's personal responsibility to Heaven. The second reason was that they had the people of the Mark behind them. . . ."

Next he reviewed the events and impressions of his recent journey to Palestine, dwelling on some objectionable features that had struck him, among them the scarcity of forests and of trees generally in the Holy Land, a lack of charm in the barren landscape which

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was specially distasteful to Germanic perceptions, for to the German the living, growing, majestic tree had since prehistoric times been an object of special affection and admiration, almost of veneration. Then he told in illustration this anecdote:

"It was right after the great, inspiring events of 1870-71. The armies had returned home. The jubilations and the enthusiasm of the people had calmed down, and now serious toil, notably the organization and the further development of the new-won fatherland, was to begin. And so one day the three paladins of the great old Emperor sat down to meat together, for the first time since their return, and all by themselves—the matchless general, the mighty chancellor, and the faithful war minister. And after the first glass had been emptied in honor of the monarch and the fatherland, the chancellor spoke, turning to his two companions, saying: 'We have attained all we fought for, toiled for, suffered for. We stand on the summit of all we have ever dreamed of. What now can come to us specially interesting, inspiring, or stimulating, after what we have lived to see?' There was a short pause, and then the white-haired leader of battles made answer, 'To see the tree grow!' And there was deep silence in the room.

"Yes, gentlemen—to see the tree grow. The tree we want to see growing, and which we must help develop, is the sturdy oak-tree of the empire. . . .

". . . Safe is that peace behind which stands the German St. Michael, with his shield and sword.

"It is, no doubt, a grand undertaking for all nations to bring about universal peace. But there is one mighty error in their calculations. So long as unredeemed sin rules mankind, so long shall we have war and hatred, envy and discord, and so long, too, will one man try

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to overreach the other. And what is true of individuals is also true of nations. Therefore, we must endeavor, we Germans, to keep together like a solid block. And against this *rocher de bronze*, against this German nation, far away across the seas and at home in Europe, the breakers threatening peace will spend themselves in vain. . . ."

XX

THE KAISER IN HIS UNIVERSITY RELATIONS

As member of his "corps" in Bonn University—His connection with it as *alter Herr*—Replying to a toast at a *com-mers* a year before his accession—As Kaiser he upholds the customary student duels—Initiating his eldest son in 1901—Preaching the doctrine of nationalism to the students—His remarks about German enviousness—"We need personalities, men"—Emphasizing the need of ideals.

WHEN Prince William, then eighteen years of age, became a student at the university of Bonn, in 1877, he joined the local crack "corps," the Borussia, a student organization to which ever since its infancy members of the Prussian royal house, as well as of other German sovereign houses, had belonged during their university days. Bonn is that university in Germany which has been all along the one where the young princes and other high-born personages of the fatherland have gone by preference to study. This is in large part owing to the fact that a process of "natural selection" has been systematically at work—in fact, ever since its foundation, in 1816—making it the intellectual nursery of hereditary monarchism, of intense loyalty, and of approved political principles generally. And the Borussia, again, is that organized body of students there which embraces the picked representatives of all this.

Prince William, during his two years' stay, heard lectures on Roman law, history, philosophy, exper-

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imental physics, history of the nineteenth century, German social economics, history of ancient art, German literature, criminal law procedure, finances, æsthetics, history of the Reformation, state and international law, chemistry, political science, and Prussian administrative law. Some of these topics were treated for him in *privatissima*—i. e., professors lectured to him in privacy.

The young man held diligent intercourse with his fellows of the Borussia, attending their *commers*—or drinking and singing meetings—rather regularly, and showed himself a true *corpsbruder*, and hence earned the approval of the others, by manifesting more than the average carrying capacity for beer and other liquids. He is said to have been a jolly, debonair young man at that time, bubbling over with animal spirits. To this day he remembers with pleasure this period in his life. After his return to Berlin he made a point of attending the annual gatherings of former Borussians residing at the capital.

The sixtieth anniversary of the Borussia, which was celebrated with éclat at Bonn, in 1887, he witnessed as an invited guest in his capacity of *alter Herr*, or alumnus. In answer to a toast in honor of the Hohenzollern dynasty, Prince William rose and made a speech. He thanked those present for their fidelity to the "monarchic principle"; pointed out that the colors of the Borussia, black-white-black, were also those of Prussia and of the Hohenzollern; foreigners had often remarked that these colors were scarcely gay enough, but they corresponded with the history of Prussia and of his house, which told of many trials and vicissitudes. The Iron Cross, in its severe plainness, was a most fitting symbol of these struggles, which had lasted through centuries. These col-

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ors were a spur to the young Borussians to emulate their forebears in the strict fulfilment of duty.

On May 7, 1891, three years after his accession, the Kaiser participated in the initial *commers* of the season and made a speech, in which he said:

“I render thanks to the previous speaker, and to all the Bonn S. C.¹ assembled here, for the cordial reception given me. I thank the S. C. particularly for the fine torchlight procession of the Bonn students which took place in my honor last night. . . .

“I subscribe, word for word, to the remarks of the previous speaker about the importance of ‘corps’ life, and about its educational value. . . .

“Our *mensuren*² are often misunderstood by the general public. But we must not mind that. We who have been ‘corps’ students know what they mean. Just as during the Middle Ages jousts and tournaments served to steel men’s courage and physical strength, so, too, the spirit and the customs of our ‘corps’ serve to acquire that degree of firmness which is needed in later life and which German universities will furnish so long as they exist.

“You referred to my son. For this I thank you specially. I hope the boy will also be enrolled in the Bonn S. C., when he is old enough, and that he then will find the same friendly sentiments here which I have found.”

Ten years later, on April 24th, the young Crown-prince was immatriculated at the same University of Bonn, and entered the same “corps,” the Borussia. The

¹ S. C. stands for “Seniors’ Convent,” formed by all the “corps” of a university town, and in which only the officers of

each of them have a right to	vote.—Ed.
² <i>Mensuren</i> means students’	duels.—Ed.

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Kaiser had accompanied him, and was also present at the initiation of his son. A *commers* was given by the Borussia in honor of the young heir-apparent, and to an address by a student, Von Alvensleben by name, the Kaiser replied at some length. He dwelt on his own student days, and then touched on various political aspects, saying:

“. . . You must be glad in your hearts at being young Germans, and when you stroll along the Rhine, when you wander afoot from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence—that is, from Charlemagne to Germany's heyday of glory, under the sceptre of the great Barbarossa, your soul must rejoice.

“But why were all these earlier glories doomed to perish? Why did the old German Empire pine away?

“Because it had not been founded on a strictly national basis. The universal idea in the old ‘Roman Empire of German nationality’ did not permit of a development in the German national sense.

“The essence of a nation consists in its territorial limitation, corresponding with the individuality of a people and with its racial peculiarities. Thus it came to pass that Barbarossa's lustre paled and the territorial make-up of the old empire fell asunder, because it was hindered in the process of crystallization into a real national entity by its inherent universalism. . . .

“Unfortunately, the significant phrase penned once by Tacitus, that great and keen-eyed writer on early Germany, the phrase *propter invidiam*, applies also to that phase in the development and in the misfortunes of the old empire. The princes envied the emperors their power, as they once did in the case of Arminius, despite his great victory. The nobility envied the burghers when these had become wealthy, and the peasant the noble. *Propter invidiam*—how much has

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our beautiful, our dear Germany suffered in its history because of this accursed enviousness!

“ . . . To-day you are Germans, dwelling on German soil, citizens of a strictly limited German nation, to aid in the welfare and further development of which you are here receiving the requisite knowledge. . . . The future expects and needs you. But do not waste your capabilities and gifts in cosmopolitan hallucinations, and do not use them in the service of one-sided party tendencies. You will have to help nurse the idea of firmer national cohesion and also of our ideals. Mighty were the intellectual heroes which the Germanic race has given birth to with God's help, from Boniface¹ and Walter, of the Vogelweide, down to Goethe and Schiller, and they have been a light and a blessing to those who came after them. They exerted a universal influence, and yet were Germans in the strictly limited sense! They were personalities—men! These we need to-day more than ever. Strive to become such yourselves!”

On the day following, April 25, 1901, the Kaiser attended the season's first *commers*, given by the Bonn S. C., and replied to an address by Colonel-General Baron von Loë, praising this ancient warrior for his juvenile enthusiasm; and then, turning to the throng of students, he said:

“ . . . I hope and expect that the young generation will enable me to maintain our German fatherland in the sense which I indicated yesterday—in its territorial limitation, embracing the German race, with neither malice nor favors towards any one. But if somebody should dare to attack us, I shall appeal to you, and

¹ The Kaiser is here in error. Boniface, the “apostle of the Germans,” was himself an Englishman, a native of Kirton.—Ed.

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I expect that you will not disappoint me.¹ But, of course, youth needs ideals, men they can pattern and strive after. . . .”

On June 18, 1902, the Borussia celebrated in Bonn its seventy-fifth anniversary. At the banquet, after the president of the “corps,” W. von Bentivegni, had addressed the Kaiser, who was present with his eldest son, the monarch made some remarks appropriate to the occasion. He thought that young students should enjoy their youth and give vent now and then to the exuberance of their feelings, but all within bounds. Then he said:

“But youth must have, above all, ideals to strive after, and when you look around in this circle you may thank Heaven for all the men that have issued from this corps, each of whom, in his own way and place, contributes to the greatness and prosperity of our country. . . . You were honored by seeing in your ranks the sons of sovereign princes, to aid them in preparing themselves for the grave duties and responsibilities of life. . . . I rejoice with all my heart at being once more in the midst of young Borussians, for youth possesses daring, energy; it follows the leader when he calls, while maturer age sometimes doubts and hesitates. . . .”

¹ In the German text the Kaiser made use of a more homely phrase — namely, “Ich erwarte, dass Sie mich nicht sitzen lassen,” the equivalent in as homely English being about, “I hope you will not let me get stuck.”—Ed.

XXI

THE KAISER'S PALESTINE TRIP

His speech to the German colony in Constantinople—Advising the German Protestants in Jerusalem to show "Practical Christianity"—Expressing in Bethlehem his disappointment at prevailing conditions in the Holy Land—Disbelieves in proselytizing among Mohammedans—"Exempla docent"—The Templar colony in Jerusalem—Assuring the Germans in Palestine of his protection—Telling the Mohammedans that the German Kaiser will be at all times their friend—Reply to welcoming words on his return.

It was generally believed when the Kaiser set out, October 11, 1898, on a journey to Palestine, that political motives of a practical nature were at the bottom of this undertaking. There were a number of circumstances which lent color to this belief. And several events which happened since his return from the Sultan's domains furnished a partial corroboration of this wide-spread assumption. It is indisputable that since then—just to mention one important general fact—the personal relations between the Kaiser and the Sultan, as well as those between the countries of these two rulers, have become increasingly friendly. There have been exchanged gifts of great value between William II. and Abdul Hamid, a thing which had not occurred for centuries past between the Moslem autocrat and Christian potentates. The Bagdad railway concession was granted to Berlin financiers since then.

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However, it was at the time officially stated in Germany, and is still being insisted upon there, that William II. was not guided by grossly material incentives in his trip to the Orient, but solely by reasons of a religious nature. And whether these were really the only ones or not, certain it is that ever since his boyhood days the Kaiser had frequently expressed a desire to view with his own eyes the scenery where the world-moving drama had been enacted nineteen hundred years before. The similar journey undertaken by his father, when Crown-prince, had made a strong and lasting impression on his youthful mind.

The Empress accompanied him. They went by rail as far as Venice, and thence by water to Constantinople. On October 18th, he received in special audience a delegation from the large and influential German colony at Stamboul, telling them:

"I thank you greatly for the words you have spoken and for the address you have handed me. It gave me great pleasure to learn, since my arrival here, from various sources, and more particularly from the ruler of this country, that the German colony in Stamboul occupies an important position and that it has acquired it solely by its own effort. In your address you point to the policy of my late grandfather. I will admit to you that I have adopted his policy for my own, knowing of no better one to follow. And this policy has furnished proof that it is quite feasible for two great nations, although of different race and faith, to become good friends and to be useful to each other in the pursuance of an amicable competition. You yourselves prove this fact, for you have succeeded in winning a position here which is of great value to the German Empire, and I desire to acknowledge this explicitly, both in my own name and in that of the

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empire. I trust this will remain so in the future, and you may hold yourselves assured of my constant care and of my protection."

The Kaiser made a brilliant entry into Jerusalem on October 29th, and on the same day visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and also the newly erected Church of the Saviour, built by the German Protestants in Palestine, though greatly aided in this by funds contributed by the Kaiser. In the latter the Prussian Minister of Public Worship, Dr. Bosse, who, with a number of other German dignitaries, had accompanied the imperial couple, made a formal address, to which the Kaiser replied as follows:

"I thank you most sincerely for the sentiments you were good enough to voice. It gives me particular gratification to be able to witness the dedication of the Church of the Saviour erected by the Evangelical flock here. I owe this favor to the kindly feelings entertained for me by his Majesty the Sultan, and also to my father and grandfather. Mere words do not carry much weight in the Orient. I trust that the German Protestants will testify by their upright lives to the truth and worth of their religious belief. If they will follow this advice God's blessing will rest upon this new structure. I hope and expect this most fervently. Tell this to all the Evangelicals, and especially to the German ones residing in this place."

While in Bethlehem, October 30th, the Kaiser addressed the people there assembled as follows:

"If I am to speak of my impressions during the last few days, I must indeed say that I am vastly disappointed. And inasmuch as I hear that this feeling is

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shared to a great extent by others, among them my chief court preacher, I will not hide this feeling from you. Possibly the extremely difficult and unpicturesque approaches to Jerusalem contributed to it. However that may be, seeing actual conditions at the sacred places is enough to make one's heart bleed. And yet it is a tremendous fact, whose workings we trace even to-day—the emanation of the Creator's love for us! And how little does that which we actually see correspond to our apprehension of this fact.

“I doubly rejoice, therefore, at receiving here in Bethlehem my first inspiring impression through the means of the celebration I am witnessing in your midst. Let the horrible conditions prevailing in Jerusalem teach us the lesson to avoid, as far as possible, the accentuation of minor differences in our creed, and to present henceforth a solid phalanx in the Orient with our Evangelical Church and creed, else we can accomplish nothing. We can achieve results only by furnishing living examples, by illustrating in our own lives the truth that the gospel is a gospel of love, that its influence is universal, and that its fruits correspond with its teachings. As for the Mohammedan population, the lives and the doings of the Christians can alone exert an influence. Nobody can blame them if they feel no respect for the Christian name, considering conditions here. In the profession of their faith the Christians here show discord and lack of cohesion. They have to be prevented by force of arms from coming to blows among themselves. And politically one shred after the other, on one pretext or another, is torn from Mohammedan sovereignty, although there is not even a shadow of justification for that. Under these circumstances it is not astonishing if the influence of the Christians has diminished steadily and has at last sunk to its present lowest ebb.

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"And now our turn has come. The German Empire and the German name have now acquired throughout the empire of the Osmanli a higher reputation than ever before. It is for us at present to demonstrate what is really the essence of Christianity, and to show that the exercise of Christian love is our plain duty even towards the Mohammedan population. We must achieve good results not by insistence upon dogmas nor by controversy or systematic attempts at conversion, but solely by the strength of example. The Mohammedan is a very devout believer, and preaching alone will not accomplish much in his case. But our civilization, our institutions, the life we live, the manner of our personal intercourse with him, the proof that we are harmonious and peaceable among ourselves—that is the true way to convince him of the justice of our claims for the superiority of our religion.

"We must stand at present a sort of test of our Protestant faith and our professions, by which we must show to them what Christianity really means and by which we can enlist their interest for our religion and for our Christian precepts. Strive to have this remain so."

The day after, October 31st, the formal dedication took place of the Protestant Church of the Saviour in Jerusalem. At the conclusion of divine services, the Kaiser read the following:

"God has permitted us in His grace to dedicate in this holy city, so dear to all Christianity, this place of worship erected in honor of the world's Saviour. That which my sires, now resting in God, had longed for and aspired to for half a century, has at last found fulfilment in the building and dedication of this Church of the Saviour, fulfilment in the sense of my sires, as pro-

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moters and protectors of Evangelical institutions. With the wooing force of humbly serving love, hearts are to be led here to that in which alone suffering humanity finds quiet, peace, and solace for time and eternity. With devout sympathy Evangelical Christianity, away beyond the confines of Germany, assists at our celebration to-day. The delegates of Evangelical Church communities and numerous individual members of them from all over the world have accompanied us here, in order to witness personally the closing scene in a work of faith and love whereby the name of our Lord and Saviour is to be exalted and the spread of God's reign on earth is to be promoted. Jerusalem, the City on High, in which our feet stand, recalls memories of the great deed of redemption done by our Lord and Saviour. This city bears testimony to the joint work which unites in the apostolic creed all the factions and nations bearing the name of Christians. The world-renewing power of the gospel, issuing from here, impels us to heed it, and it urges us on, in contemplating Him who died for us on the cross, to Christian tolerance, and to show love of our neighbor in our dealings with all men. It promises us that if we but persist faithfully in the pure teachings of the gospel, even the gates of hell shall not prevail against our dear Evangelical Church. From Jerusalem came the light of the world, whose splendor has aided our German nation so greatly in becoming powerful and respected.

"What the Germanic peoples have become they have become under the banner of the cross of Golgotha, the symbol of self-sacrificing love of our neighbor. As it did nearly two thousand years ago, let to-day also ring out through the world the cry which embodies so much longing hope. Peace on earth! It is not splendor, not glory, not power or honor, it is not earthly

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goods we seek here. We pray and ask and strive for but this one thing, the highest good, the salvation of our souls. And as I renew to-day the vow of my sires, 'I and my house will serve the Lord!' so I demand of you likewise the same pledge on this solemn day. Let each in his calling and place see to it that all who claim to be followers of the crucified Lord may lead lives in consonance with the precepts of our Lord, which will eventually triumph over all the dark powers having their root in sin and selfishness. God grant that from this spot may flow back over the whole of Christendom rich streams of blessing, that on the throne as in the hovel, at home as abroad, the fear of God, the love of our neighbor, patience in adversity, and labor diligently and honestly done may remain forever the noblest jewel adorning the German people, and that the spirit of peace may more and more penetrate and sanctify the Evangelical Church. He, our God of grace, will listen to our prayer, we may feel sure. He, the Almighty, is the strong tower on which we build. 'With our might we are but slight, and soon are lost and done for; let right but fight, whate'er betide, for God Himself has said so. Our confidence is in Jesus Christ, and in the God of hosts; there is no other help for us, and we will hold our posts!'"¹

On the occasion of a visit to the Templar colony in Jerusalem, November 1st, the Kaiser listened to an address by the leader of the German colonists, Sander, and then replied:

"I am glad to meet so many of my countrymen here, and I thank you for this cordial reception. It gives me pleasure to be able to say that you have made your

¹ The Kaiser quoted here from an old German hymn.—ED.

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practical conduct in life a good example to your neighbors, showing thereby the true way to make the German name respected in these parts. You have done honor to Germany by your successful labor and your genuine piety, a fact of which my visits to your other colonies had already convinced me, and have earned a fine reputation and furnished proof how barren fields may be made to blossom and bear fruit. In your majority you are, I believe, Suabians, and I have telegraphed the King of Württemberg that I have found his countrymen in Haifa and Jaffa in a prosperous condition. I received a pleasant reply from him, and he asked me to convey to you his good wishes. You are really better off here than we others, since you live in the immediate vicinity of the sacred places, whence you may perennially draw inspiration. I hope that our relations with the Osmanli Empire, and more especially the friendship existing between myself and his Majesty the Sultan, will make your tasks here lighter than they otherwise might be. If any one of you at any time should require my protection, you know that I am ready to assist him; let him apply to me, no matter what his creed, and I am glad to say that the German Empire is now strong enough to afford adequate protection to its members in foreign parts."

At the tomb of the famous Sultan Saladin, in Damascus, on November 8th, the Kaiser made another speech, saying:

"In the face of all the courtesies extended to us here, I feel that I must thank you, in my name as well as that of the Empress, for them, for the hearty reception given us in all the towns and cities we have touched, and particularly for the splendid welcome extended to us by this city of Damascus. Deeply moved by this

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imposing spectacle, and likewise by the consciousness of standing on the spot where held sway one of the most chivalrous rulers of all times, the great Sultan Saladin, a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*, who often taught his adversaries the right conception of knighthood, I seize with joy the opportunity to render thanks, above all to the Sultan Abdul Hamid for his hospitality. May the Sultan rest assured, and also the three hundred million Mohammedans scattered over the globe and revering in him their caliph, that the German Emperor will be and remain at all times their friend."

This speech was adversely criticised, not alone almost everywhere outside of Germany, but also in the press of the fatherland itself. Some of this German comment in the opposition press gave rise to a number of trials and convictions for *lèse majesté*.

On December 1, 1898, the imperial couple returned to Berlin. The ceremony was invested with all the pomp and circumstance which would have graced the triumphal entry of a conquering hero. The Kaiser and his consort on that day left the Château of Bellevue, and proceeding in great state and with a numerous and brilliant retinue to the Brandenburg Gate of Berlin, they were solemnly received there by the civic authorities, headed by Burgomaster Kierschner, who read an elaborate address. To this the Kaiser responded as follows:

"Jointly with the Empress, I thank you cordially for the reception which you tendered us in the name of the city of Berlin. After our long journey I am glad to see once more my native city. However, our trip was prolific in strong impressions as to religion, art, and industry.

"Of all these I will to-day mention but this welcome

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fact: That everywhere, on the seas and on shore, and in all the cities we have seen, the German name has acquired a meaning higher than it ever had before. Everywhere it is honored and respected. I venture to hope that this is how it will remain, and that our journey will have contributed to open up new paths for German energy and German knowledge to tread. And I also hope that I have done something towards preserving the blessing of peace for all nations."

XXII

THE KAISER AS A PULPIT ORATOR

His sermons on board the *Hohenzollern* usually delivered off-hand, without notes—Interesting changes in his religious tenets—As a pulpit orator he shows a striking resemblance to sensational preachers in this country.

IN the German navy there is a rule to this effect: In the temporary or permanent absence of a chaplain, one of the higher officers forming part of the ship's complement is ordered to conduct divine services on board, both on Sunday and other appropriate occasions. These services are usually of a very simple nature, consisting in the reading from a book of Bible texts, a prayer, and a short and pithy sermon.

The Kaiser, however, proceeds otherwise. He looks up one or more suitable texts from his Bible, and then, after reading them, delivers, as a rule, a sermon off-hand, varying in length according to the number of ideas and object-lessons which these texts suggest to him, the whole winding up with a short prayer. There have, however, been exceptions to this, as when, during the period of the troubles in China, he made to the crew of his own yacht, the *Hohenzollern*, and to those of various German war vessels, addresses of a semi-religious nature in lieu of regular divine service, in which the warlike note predominated, several times to an amazing degree, the language in which they were couched being, now and then, of a rather boastful and self-glorifying character.

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Whenever the Kaiser is on board any war vessel, or the *Hohenzollern*, of a Sunday, he invariably conducts these services personally. It is rather a pity that little has become known about the hundred-and-odd sermons and religious addresses delivered by him during the past fifteen years on these occasions. Yet it is but natural that this should be so, inasmuch as no provision was ever made to reproduce or preserve them, and as outsiders were rigidly excluded. Only a single one of his sermons has crept into publicity in its entirety, its authenticity being undisputed. This he delivered, July 29, 1900, on board the *Hohenzollern*, off Heligoland, and it was as follows:

“Seventh Sunday after Trinity.—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the community of the Holy Ghost be with us all. Amen.

“Text: 2 Mos. 17th chapt. 11th verse: But as long as Moses held up his hands, praying, Israel prevailed; but when he lowered his hands, Amalek prevailed. Amen.

“An imposing picture it is which to-day's text presents to our souls. There is Israel, making its way through the desert, coming from the Red Sea and on towards Mount Sinai. But of a sudden the heathen Amalekite people stop their progress, and a battle ensues. Joshua leads the young men of Israel into the fray; swords rattle and meet, and a hotly contested, bloody struggle sets in, down in the vale of Raphidim. But see, while the battle moves hither and thither, those devout men of God, Moses, Aaron, and Hur, climb up the mountain-side, and stretch out their hands towards Heaven; they pray. Below in the valley the warring throng; up on the mountain the praying three. That is the warlike picture of our text.

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“And who to-day does not understand what lesson it conveys? For again the pagan spirit of Amalek has stirred in far Asia, and with great cunning and power, with fire and murder, they seek to hinder the triumphal march of Christian morals, of Christian faith, of European commerce and education. And again God has ordered: ‘Choose men; go forth and fight against Amalek!’ A grim, a terrible struggle has begun. Already many of our brothers there are in the combat; many more are now on their way to the hostile coasts. You have seen them, those thousands who, answering the call, ‘Volunteers to the front! Who will protect the empire?’ are now gathering, and who will soon join in the fight with flying banners.

“But we, remaining behind here at home, restricted by other and sacred duties, do we not hear the words of God, spoken to us, saying: ‘Go up on the mountain-side! Lift up thine hands to the Most High!’ The prayer of the just accomplishes much if it be but said with all our strength and faith!

“Well, then. Far away the ranks of warriors, and here at home the ranks of the praying—let that also be the holy battle-picture for to-day! Let this peaceful morning hour remind us of the sacred duty of prayer, of the sacred power of prayer.

“The sacred duty of prayer.

“Certainly it is an inspiring moment when a ship heaves anchor, with a youthful crew on board! Have you not seen the eyes of the young warriors shining? Have you not heard their thousand-voiced hurrah?

“But when the coasts of our native land dwindle and vanish, when the ship enters the torrid heat of the Red Sea, or when she plunges into the mighty waves of the ocean, how often does enthusiasm vanish, too, and how often does strength depart!

“Certainly an inspiring moment when, after a long

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journey, are seen, far in the distance, the straight lines of the German forts, and the black-white-red flag of the German colony becomes visible, and when brothers-in-arms are awaiting your arrival ashore, shouting welcome in the mother-tongue! But later on, when begin endless marches under a fiery sun, and interminable nights, camping out in the rain, how easily then joy and courage ooze away!

"Certainly a longed-for moment, that in which the drum beats to storm and the trumpets shriek to attack, when the order is shouted, 'On upon the enemy!'

"But when in the midst of thundering cannon and in the midst of sputtering, screaming shells your comrades are mowed down to right and left, and when the enemy's batteries will not be silenced, how often even a brave heart begins to tremble!

"Christians! To enable your brothers out there to remain of joyful heart, to persist in their duty even when it is hardest, not to lose courage even in the greatest danger, it needs more than ammunition and good weapons, more than bravery and enthusiasm—it needs approval and encouragement from on high, else they cannot achieve victory. And this heavenly world can be unlocked solely by prayer. Prayer is the golden key to the treasure-chamber of our God. But whoever has it has also the promise, He who prays will also receive.

"Or, indeed, are we to let our hands lie idly in our laps? Woe to us if we are to remain idle and impassive while they are doing their hard, their bloody tasks! Woe to us if we are to be but curious spectators behind the bars of the great arena while they struggle tensely in the grip of death! That were the spirit of Cain, saying cruelly, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' That were treachery towards our brave brothers who are risking their lives!

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"No—thrice no! We will not only send out battalions of warriors. No! We will also aid them by a holy band of praying allies.

"And how much, how many things, we have to ask God for our brothers going into the field of battle! They are to be the strong arm with which to punish the assassins. They are to be the mailed fist with which to set aright the murderous disorder. Their sword is to fight for our holiest treasures.

"Let us therefore accompany them with our prayers upon the deep sea, upon their weary marches, into the thunder of battle, and into the quiet of the hospital. And we will ask God, our Lord, to let them remain strong and manful in their duty, so that they will fight the foe heroically and undauntedly, that they will bear their wounds bravely and without complaint, and God will give a blessed end to those who fall under fire, and will reward them—in short, He will make heroes of our warriors, and conquerors of these heroes, and will lead them home again into the land of their fathers, the laurel wreath around their helmets, and the medal of honor on their breasts.

"The sacred power of prayer.

"Or do we not believe in the sacred power of prayer? Well, then, what says our text? 'As long as Moses held up his hands, praying, Israel prevailed!' The fervent prayers of Moses made the swords of the enemy dull, enabled his men to penetrate the hostile ranks like a phalanx, thus causing them to break and run, and pinned victory to the flying banners of Israel. And if the prayers of Moses accomplished this, is it to be thought that our prayers will prove of no avail? God has not taken back a single syllable from His promises. Faithful prayer can throw even to-day the dragon banner into the dust and plant the cross upon the walls.

"And Moses was not the only one whose prayer was

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heeded. Look, up on the heights of Sodom is Abraham, interceding with his God, and with his prayer he saves Lot from the burning city. Should it, then, be impossible for our prayers to rescue our fighting comrades from the dangers of battle?

“Look again, and in Jerusalem ye will see the young Christian community on their knees. Their leader, their father, lies a prisoner in jail. Yet with their prayers they summon the angel of God into jail, and he leads forth Peter, unscathed.

“Are we, then, to suppose that our prayers will not be potent enough to open again the doors for those in need, for the prisoners, for those pursued, and to place at their side a guardian-angel?

“‘Oh, the power, unseen, unheard,
Of a saintly pray’r!
By the strength of faith and word
Deeds are wrought fore’er.’¹

“Yes, the Lord liveth! Our great Ally still reigneth. Our God liveth, the God who will not allow sin and crime to triumph, but who will conduct His holy cause against a wicked people. God Almighty, who can seize upon the strongest walls as if they were cobwebs, and who can scatter the mightiest armies like heaps of sand; the compassionate, the faithful God, who bears upon His heart the weal or woe of every one of His children, and who hears every sigh and feels with us every sorrow. Pious prayer opens His fatherly hands, and they are filled with blessings. Fervent prayer unlocks His fatherly heart, and it is filled with love. Yes, faithful, incessant prayer brings down God Himself from Heaven, and places Him in our very midst. And if God is for us, who can be against us?

¹ The Kaiser here quotes from an early German hymn.—Ed.

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“Well, then, up in the Tauern Mountains, high above all, marvellous bells are hanging! They are not rung by human hands. Still and silent they hang in sunshine. But when storms arise they begin to swing, they begin to ring, and their ringing is heard far adown the valley.¹

“God our Lord has hung prayer-bells in every human heart. But, alas! in the sunshine and happiness of life they are mute and motionless. But when the storms of misery and disaster overtake us, how they do begin to ring! And many a comrade who had forgotten how to pray learns out there how to fold his hands once again. Misery teaches us how to pray. And thus, too, it shall be at home. Let the dark days now upon us, let the war-clouds that have overwhelmed us, set the prayer-bells in rhythmic swing. Let us pray for our struggling brothers. And not only on festive occasions. No! no! Let us pray at all times. Just as our fathers during war-times caused the bells to ring every evening, baring their heads when the sound struck their ears, and praying, ‘Remain with us, O Jesus Christ, since night is coming on!’ so in like manner let never a day pass without interceding for your brothers at the throne of the Most High. Moses held up his hands on high until the sun went down and Joshua had smitten Amalek with the sharp edge of the sword. Our own battle is not fought within a single day. But do not weary. Do not let your hands sink until victory is won. Let our prayers be a wall of fire around the camp of our brothers.

“And how it will strengthen, inspire, encourage them, the thought: Thousands—nay, millions—at home bear us in their praying hearts. The King of all kings calls: ‘Volunteers to the front! Who will

¹ There is an old German folk-lore tale to this effect.—ED.

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pray for the fatherland?' Oh! if we could say: 'The King called, and all, all came. Let not a single one of us miss the summons. He is a man who knows how to pray.'

"History some day will describe the battles of these present days. However, man sees but what is before his eyes, and he can but tell what the wisdom of the leaders, the courage of his men, the sharpness of the weapons have done. Eternity, however, will disclose to our gaze more than that, will show how the hidden, unseen prayer of the faithful and believing has been a great power in these battles, and how once more the promise of old has been fulfilled: 'Call upon Me in thine distress, and I will save thee.'

"And therefore: Cease not in your prayers. Amen.

"Prayer. Almighty God, dear heavenly Father! Thou Lord of hosts and Leader of battles! we lift up our hands to Thee in prayer. To Thee and Thy compassionate heart we commit those thousands of brothers-in-arms, far away from here, whom Thou hast called into battle. Extend, we beseech Thee, Thy all-powerful protection to the breasts of our sons, shielding them. Lead Thou our men to glorious victory! To Thy heart we commit our sick and wounded. Be their consolation and their strength, and heal Thou the wounds which they have received for king and fatherland. To Thy loving compassion and mercy we commit all those who are destined to die on distant battle-fields. Be with them in their last fight and give them peace everlasting! To Thee we commit our nation. Preserve, sanctify, augment the enthusiasm which glows in us all. Lord, our God! we trust in Thee! Lead us in battle. We praise Thee, because Thou aidest us, and our flag is hoisted in Thy name. Lord, we will not cease to importune Thee unless Thou blessest us first. Amen."

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The Kaiser concluded his services by reciting the Lord's Prayer and by an invocation for the divine blessing.

As remarked before, the above is the only one of the Kaiser's sermons which has been preserved as a whole. Fragments and telling phrases from others, however, have survived. He has often referred in his sermons to current political topics or controversies, and has not scrupled to invoke God's blessing and aid for measures he deemed necessary to the welfare of the fatherland; and, contrariwise, called upon God to punish or rebuke those men or measures which he deemed hurtful to himself or the country. There is throughout an Old-Testamentary flavor in his preaching. It is much oftener the God of wrath, the mighty Jehovah of the Jew, than the meek, loving, forgiving God of the Christian's New Testament whom he deals with in his prayers and sermons.

In July, 1897, while in Scandinavian waters on board the *Hohenzollern*, the Kaiser, being then greatly wrought up about what he conceived to be the unpatriotic attitude of the Reichstag, and more particularly of the Centre (Ultramontane) party in that body, preached a sermon which virtually consisted of a review of the situation from his own view-point. He spoke in it of the sacred trust committed to him of lifting the country up to a higher state of naval efficiency, of the wilful blindness of the people's representatives, and then came to speak of the Centre. He chose to refer to the latter by names taken from the Apocalypse, and by no means flattering, such as the "Great Beast," etc.

A couple of months later, upon the reassembling of the Reichstag, the chief leader of the Ultramontane party, Dr. Lieber, first intended to introduce a resolution of indignation in censure of this language, but

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finally contented himself with several references to it in his opening speech for the party. These strictures drew, however, no reply from either the government or the other parties.

Thus it will be seen that the impulsiveness, not to say recklessness, which characterizes the Kaiser's public utterances, is not absent even in his personal intercourse with his Creator. And this, after all, is perhaps, psychologically considered, the most interesting trait in his sermons.

There is, however, another point about him as a pulpit orator which attracts our attention. He started out, fifteen years ago, as a professed champion of the strictly orthodox school of Lutheran theology, the school of which his then court preacher, Dr. Adolf Stöcker, was and is the most noted chief in Germany. The narrow, rigid tenets that were inculcated by Stöcker and his following were those which were given voice to by the Kaiser during the first period of his reign. But there has been a gradual though steady change.

This is strikingly shown by the Kaiser's recent dealings with Professor Delitzsch, the eminent Assyriologist, and with the Liberal wing of Protestant theology in Germany, having Professor Harnack at its head, and also by the *quasi* renewal of a profession of faith made by the monarch in a letter to Admiral Hollmann.

In this letter, written at the instance of the Kaiser's present court preacher, Dr. Dryander, mainly with the intention to set at rest current rumors, widely credited, as to the advanced heterodoxy of the Kaiser—a heterodoxy all the more serious because of his hereditary position of *summus episcopus* of the Protestant Church in Prussia—it is made very plain how much he has modified his earlier religious views. In fact, while

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administering a severe snub to Delitzsch, a professed infidel, he nevertheless admits far more in the shape of a rationalistic conception of religion than the world at large had imagined he would. And that, too, portrays an interesting process of evolution in his soul life.

THE END

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